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**Writing Music in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul  
Ottoman Armenians and the Invention of Hampartsum Notation**

Olley, Jacob

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# **Writing Music in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul**

## **Ottoman Armenians and the Invention of Hampartsum Notation**

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PhD in Music

King's College London

2017



# Abstract

This thesis describes the invention and adoption of a new notation system, known today as ‘Hamparsum notası’ or ‘Hay ardi jaynagrut‘iwn’ (‘modern Armenian notation’), in nineteenth-century Istanbul. The first part focuses on a small group of Catholic Armenians who developed the notation system in around 1812, including the musician Hambarjum Limōnčean (1768–1839), the Mxit‘arist scholar Minas Bžškean (1777–1851), and their patrons the Tiwzean family. I argue that the notational reform was an aspect of a larger cultural and intellectual revival led by the monastery of San Lazzaro in Venice. Based on Bžškean’s treatise on music and excerpts from Limōnčean’s memoir, I show how discussions about notational reform were linked to broader concerns about the cultural and educational situation of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, drawing on a ‘connected’ historiographical model, I argue that the reform can be read as a translation of Enlightenment thought into local musical contexts, and that it should be seen in relation to the simultaneous reform of Byzantine notation by Chrysanthos of Madytos (ca. 1770–1846) and his collaborators.

At the same time, I demonstrate that the reformers were deeply embedded in the urban and musical environment of Istanbul, and that the development of Hampartsum notation cannot be understood without reference to the history and practices of secular Ottoman music. In the second part of the thesis, drawing on manuscript collections of Hampartsum notation as well as theoretical treatises, Ottoman court histories and accounts by European observers, I show how shifting relations between different confessional communities led to the adoption of Hampartsum notation by Muslim musicians. Finally, I discuss polemical debates about notation in Turkish and Armenian during the late nineteenth century, showing how institutionalisation, print technology and nationalist ideologies shaped attitudes towards writing music.



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## Note on Transliteration, Dates and Terminology

As Turkish has been written in the Latin alphabet since 1928, in the main text I use modern spellings of Turkish and Ottoman Turkish words, except when directly quoting a source in Arabic script. For direct quotations and bibliographic references, I have adopted the transliteration system used in Korkut Buğday, *The Routledge Introduction to Literary Ottoman* (2009). Dates in the *hicri* or *rumi* calendars are given alongside the closest equivalent year in the Gregorian calendar, e.g. 1302/1885. Place names are given according to their present-day designations, e.g. Istanbul rather than Constantinople. Romanisation of Greek and Arabic follows the Library of Congress system.

Words in the Armenian script are transliterated according to the Hübschmann–Meillet system, as used in the *Revue des études arméniennes*. While this does not accurately reflect the pronunciation of Western Armenian or Turkish, it has the advantage of being fully reversible. Names of Ottoman Armenian persons are also given in brackets according to their modern Turkish spelling, e.g. Anton Tiwzean (Tr. Andon Düzyan). Turkish words which appear in passages translated from Armenian are given in their modern Turkish spellings. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

The notation system which is the subject of this thesis is referred to in modern Turkish as ‘Hamparsum notası’, following the Turkish corruption of ‘Hambarjum’ (Համբարձում). In modern Armenian, the notation system is generally known as ‘Hay ardi jaynagrut‘iwn’ (‘modern Armenian notation’) or ‘ekelec‘akan jaynagrut‘iwn’ (‘church notation’), or variants thereof. It is also sometimes referred to by Armenian scholars as the ‘Limōnčean system’. As the thesis is oriented primarily towards Ottoman music studies, I have opted for the Turkish designation. However, in order to respect the original orthography and pronunciation, I use the spelling ‘Hampartsum’, following the Library of Congress transliteration system for Western Armenian. When used as a personal name, the word is transliterated according to the Hübschmann–Meillet system, i.e. Hambarjum.

I have adopted the terms ‘Armenian’ and ‘Muslim’ to refer to distinct confessional communities within the Ottoman Empire. The choice of ‘Muslim’ rather than ‘Turkish’ is intended to reflect more closely the legal and administrative basis of Ottoman society. It therefore designates all Muslim subjects of the empire, which includes not only those who might, on ethnic or linguistic grounds, be defined as ‘Turkish’, but also Muslims of, say, Arab,



Kurdish or Albanian origin. The term ‘Armenian’ likewise refers principally to confessional, rather than ethnic or national, identity. This included both Orthodox and Catholic Armenians until 1831, when the latter became part of an independent confessional community (*millet*). Protestant Armenians belonged to a separate *millet* from 1850 onwards. Unless otherwise specified, ‘Armenian’ refers in this thesis to all three groups. ‘Greek Orthodox’ is used to refer to members of a broad confessional community that included not only ethnic Greeks but also a number of other ethnic groups (many of whom were Greek-speaking), such as Bulgarians and Moldovans. When referring to the musical practices of ‘non-Muslims’ in Istanbul, I focus primarily on the Armenian and Greek Orthodox communities, who constituted the largest non-Muslim groups and, as I show in Chapter Two, had extensive social, intellectual and musical contacts. For information about Jewish music-making in the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic, the reader may consult works by Tietze and Yahalom (1995), Seroussi (1991, 2004) and Jackson (2013).

In the broadest sense, ‘Ottoman music’ can be understood as encompassing all of the musical traditions that existed within the borders of the empire. In the present thesis, however, it is used mainly as a shorthand for the courtly and urban music of Istanbul. Although the label ‘Turkish music’ (or its cognates) was used during the nineteenth century by European observers as well as local non-Muslims, in the present thesis I use the term ‘Turkish-language music’ to refer to linguistic rather than ethno-religious distinctions. The term ‘secular’ is used mainly to refer to musical practices that can be distinguished, on the basis of language, genre and performance context, from non-Muslim liturgical musics. It also excludes vocal genres associated with the Sufi orders, such as the Mevlevi *ayin* as well as various types of hymn. Secular music was also, of course, composed and performed in languages other than Turkish, most prominently amongst the Phanariot community. However, while this tradition is discussed briefly in Chapters Three and Five, it is not the primary focus of the thesis.

I use the term ‘courtly’ music, rather than more value-laden terms such as ‘classical’ or ‘art’ music, to refer to the repertoire most closely associated with the Ottoman court, and, more broadly speaking, the Muslim ruling elite. This repertoire is composed in literary Ottoman Turkish (with a large Persian element) and in a limited number of genres, the most important of which are the vocal forms *kar*, *beste* and *semâi*, and the instrumental *peşrev* and *semâi*. It is contrasted with a range of other secular Turkish-language genres, loosely defined here as ‘popular’, that were less exclusively associated with the ruling elite, and which were composed using shorter rhythmic cycles and in a more vernacular language. The most widely performed

and composed song form of this type in the nineteenth-century was the *şarkı* (which is sometimes also described as a ‘semi-classical’ or ‘light classical’ genre). There was, however, a significant degree of overlap between ‘courtly’ and ‘popular’ music-making, which are better regarded as areas within a fluid spectrum of musical activity than as fixed categories.



# Introduction

Shortly before 1812, a small group of Catholic Armenians gathered together in a villa on the Bosphorus to develop a new system of musical notation. The notation system, known today in Armenian as ‘Hay ardi jaynagrut‘iwn’ and in Turkish as ‘Hampartsum notası’, was used throughout the nineteenth century to notate various musical repertoires that were cultivated in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. These included the music of the Armenian Church, the Ottoman courtly and Sufi traditions, and popular urban music. Dozens of manuscript collections were compiled by Armenian and Muslim musicians between the early nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The invention, adoption and dissemination of Hampartsum notation represents an important story about musical and cultural life in Istanbul during the late Ottoman period. From a musicological point of view, the notated collections constitute an invaluable archive of Ottoman musical praxis, and illustrate the stylistic and formal changes that occurred during the nineteenth century. Yet a study of Hampartsum notation can also suggest new ways to think about larger issues related to the history of music in the Ottoman Empire.

This thesis is a cultural history of Hampartsum notation. In the first part, I examine the social, material and intellectual contexts in which the notation system was invented. I focus on the main historical actors involved in this event, all of whom were Catholic Armenian subjects of the Ottoman Empire: Minas Bžškean (1777–1851), Hambarjum Limōnčean (1768–1839), and their patrons the Tiwzean family. A central argument is that the creation of Hampartsum notation was part of a broader cultural and intellectual revival amongst the Armenian communities of Istanbul and other cities in the Mediterranean during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, led by the Catholic Armenian monastery of San Lazzaro in Venice. As a product of this movement, Hampartsum notation was not a neutral technology, but was intimately connected to debates about educational reform and cultural identity within the Armenian diaspora. In this respect, it can be related to the parallel reform of Byzantine music and notation carried out by Chrysanthos of Madytos (ca. 1770–1846) and his collaborators in Istanbul during the same decade. Furthermore, both reforms can be viewed as part of a broader engagement with the Enlightenment, facilitated by long-standing mercantile, religious and political contacts between Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

In the second part, I discuss the adoption and dissemination of Hampartsum notation amongst Ottoman musicians. Based on the manuscript collections themselves as well as

theoretical and biographical literature, I trace the history of the notation system in the later nineteenth century, showing how it came to be adopted by Muslim musicians, and its uses within different social and musical contexts. I argue that the adoption of notation during this period can be linked to other developments in Ottoman musical life, including a shift away from the palace as a source of patronage, changes in the social status of non-Muslim musicians, and the growing visibility (or audibility) of popular urban vocal repertoires. In addition, the institutionalisation of musical education, increasing literacy rates and the adoption of print technology played an important role in the dissemination of notation. Yet although Hampartsum notation was adopted on a wider scale than any previous notation system within the Ottoman musical tradition, it was never disseminated beyond a relatively limited circle even in the late nineteenth century. By examining contemporary debates about notation amongst Ottoman musicians, I show that this was due to a number of sociological reasons, including professional rivalry, the ethical implications of musical transmission, and the social and linguistic boundaries that continued to exist between Armenian and Muslim communities.

The thesis thus attempts to bring together a number of different linguistic, cultural and disciplinary perspectives to provide a connected history of Hampartsum notation. Indeed, while Hampartsum notation has previously been approached from a single viewpoint – whether as an aspect of music analysis, as part of a hero narrative about its purported inventor, or as an element of Armenian or Turkish national music histories – I argue that it can only be adequately understood through an interdisciplinary approach. Accordingly, the following introduction situates the thesis in relation to a range of scholarship encompassing historical and musicological literatures in both Armenian and Ottoman studies, while also taking account of developments beyond these fields.

## **Previous Scholarship on Hampartsum Notation**

The invention of Hampartsum notation is acknowledged amongst scholars of Ottoman music as one of the major developments of the nineteenth century. It is also an important element in narratives of the history of Armenian music. However, there is no monograph devoted to the history of the notation system, and the existing scholarly literature is scattered and fragmentary.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Armenian and Turkish perspectives have rarely been considered

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<sup>1</sup> The following literature review is concerned with the cultural history of Hampartsum notation rather than its functionality as a method of transcription. For technical introductions from the perspective of Armenian church

together, while factual errors have been perpetuated in both literatures due to the influence of nationalist historiography, and a consequent unwillingness or inability to consult sources in other languages. Meanwhile, western scholars have approached the subject through either Armenian- or Turkish-language literature, but seldom both, thereby consciously or unconsciously reinforcing nationalist narratives.

The earliest historical accounts of Hampartsum notation, many elements of which were absorbed into later narratives, were published in Armenian in the late nineteenth century. The first biography of Limōnčean, published in 1873, presents him as a heroic figure who, by reforming Armenian church notation, saved from ‘tiresome monotony ... our national music, which is part of the sacred heritage of our nation, as ancient as its magnificent ceremony’.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Komitas Vardapet, the dominant figure of modern Armenian musicology, portrayed the invention of Hampartsum notation as part of an effort to save the national patrimony of Armenian church music from loss and corruption by ‘foreign’ influences.<sup>3</sup> Armenian treatments of Hampartsum notation thus typically discuss it only in relation to Armenian church music, and ignore the wider Ottoman context in which it was developed. Relatedly, Limōnčean is regarded as a national saviour whose sole concern was to preserve and revitalise the music of the Armenian Church, while his career as a composer and performer of secular Ottoman music is ignored or downplayed.<sup>4</sup>

One result of the emphasis on Limōnčean as ‘the immortal creator of Armenian notation’, as Hisarlean labelled him, has been to obscure the role of his collaborators.<sup>5</sup> This has not only led to factual errors, but has also reduced a complex series of events, and their entanglement with wider contexts and processes, to a simple hero narrative.<sup>6</sup> An important reason for this was

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music, see T’aščean 1874; Erznkeanc’ 1880 and Kerovpyan 2001a. For its application in Ottoman music, see Ezgi 1933–53, V, 530–35; Seidel 1973–4 and Jäger 1996a, 253–65.

<sup>2</sup> Hiwrmizzean 1873, 53. For a French translation, see idem 1986–7.

<sup>3</sup> Komitas Vardapet 1897. Translated into French as idem 1986–7 and into English as idem 1998, 163–72 and idem 2001, 153–60. Cf. Tntesean 1874, 86–91.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. Tayean 1927, 58–9; Muradyan 1970, 37–42; At’ayan 1999, 104; Soulahian Kuyumjian 2001, 27–8; Agbabian Hubbard 2010, 295–6; Alajaji 2015, 36. An exceptional attempt by an Armenian scholar to discuss the use of Hampartsum notation in Ottoman/Turkish music was made by H. Č. Siruni, based on secondary sources in Turkish (provided by his former pupil Eugenia Popescu-Judet). See Siruni 1972; abridged and translated into French (with an introductory note by Robert At’ayan) as idem 1983. Angeleay 1903 and Hisarlean 1914 provide a degree of contextualisation in relation to the Ottoman environment but do not escape the narrative of Limōnčean as a national saviour. See Chapter Two for further discussion.

<sup>5</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 18.

<sup>6</sup> A similar understanding of the early development of music writing in Europe (revolving around figures such as Gregory the Great and Guido of Arezzo) has been superseded in recent decades by more nuanced approach that acknowledges the interconnectedness of historical actors with their social environment – as well as, of course, their role in the construction of myth-making narratives. See e.g. Treitler 1974, 1984 and Mengozzi

the inaccessibility of Minas Bžškean's treatise on music (*Eražštut'iwn*, written in 1812), which provides a detailed, first-hand account of the circumstances and individuals involved in the invention of Hampartsum notation (see Chapter Two). A few Armenian scholars were aware that Bžškean may have played a role in the development of the notation system, and excerpts from the manuscripts were published sporadically throughout the twentieth century.<sup>7</sup> However, since the main part of the text was unpublished until 1997, the extent of Bžškean's contribution remained a matter of speculation, while the idea that the notation system was created solely for the purpose of preserving the repertoire of Armenian church music continued to go largely unchallenged. A. D. Vardumyan, who published a thorough evaluation of the available excerpts of *Eražštut'iwn* in 1981, noted (with some surprise) that Hampartsum notation was also adopted by Muslim musicians, yet nonetheless concluded that Bžškean's most important achievement was that he had helped 'to save from loss our sacred musical heritage'.<sup>8</sup>

The most recent and noteworthy contributions to the history of Hampartsum notation have been made by Aram Kerovpyan, who published the first critical edition of Bžškean's treatise in 1997.<sup>9</sup> This demonstrated conclusively the importance of the treatise as well as the role of other individuals in the invention of the notation system. In addition, Kerovpyan showed that the historical development of Hampartsum notation could not be adequately understood without reference to the theory and practice of Ottoman music.<sup>10</sup> His subsequent publications have dealt with musical-analytical aspects of the notation system in relation to Armenian church music and the earlier neumatic system, and the interface between oral and written modes of transmission.<sup>11</sup> Other recent work on the use of Hampartsum notation in Armenian sacred music by Haig Utidjian has similarly taken greater account of Ottoman-Turkish theoretical models and performance practices.<sup>12</sup>

The present thesis is deeply indebted to Kerovpyan's scholarship, in particular his edition of *Eražštut'iwn* and the accompanying critical commentary. I have also benefited greatly from Utidjian's publications, particularly with regards to the history of Hampartsum notation during

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2010. For more general discussions of hero narratives in musicology (with Beethoven as the paradigmatic case) see Burnham 1995 and DeNora 1995.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. Hiwrmwzean 1873, 54; Angeleay 1903, 79; Hisarlean 1914, 8. Further passing references to Bžškean are mentioned in K'erovbean 1997, 3n5. Excerpts from the treatise were published in Tayean 1927 and analysed in Vardumyan 1981. An abridged version of the latter article was published in French as *idem* 1983.

<sup>8</sup> Vardumyan 1981, 173.

<sup>9</sup> Bžškean 1997.

<sup>10</sup> See Kerovpyan's discussion in his introduction to the treatise (K'erovbean 1997, 17–21 and *passim*).

<sup>11</sup> Kerovpyan 2015, 2014a, 2014b, 2012, 2003, 2001a, 2001b, 1995, 1991.

<sup>12</sup> Utidjian 2016, 2011–12.

the last decades of the nineteenth century. However, whereas Kerovpyan and Utidjian have focused primarily on the Armenian sacred repertoire, the present thesis deals mainly with the use of Hampartsum notation in secular Ottoman music. Furthermore, rather than providing detailed analyses of the relationship between performance practices and their written representation, I have attempted to address contextual questions about the origins and purposes of the manuscript collections, and the historical circumstances in which the notation system was adopted during the nineteenth century. I suggest that the paths of enquiry opened by Kerovpyan and Utidjian might be furthered by a closer engagement not only with Ottoman music studies, but also with recent scholarship on the social and cultural history of the Ottoman Empire.

The study of Hampartsum notation in Turkish-language scholarship has centred mainly on the transcription and analysis of the manuscript collections. The corpus of manuscripts compiled during the nineteenth century constitutes a major archive of Ottoman repertoire, and in many cases provided the basis for the canonical anthologies published in staff notation during the early Republican period.<sup>13</sup> More recently, the transcription of collections of Hampartsum notation has become a common subject for dissertations in music.<sup>14</sup> However, there has been little scholarly interest in the origins or wider cultural–historical context of the notation system, and discussion of these aspects has been shaped by a lack of accurate information, reliance on secondary literature, and the dominance of nationalist approaches to music history.

Despite a limited amount of reliable information about Hampartsum notation being available in Turkish, misconceptions about the circumstances of its creation and its place in Ottoman music history are far more widespread and influential.<sup>15</sup> The most frequently repeated trope in this regard is that Limōnčean invented the system at the behest of Selim III (r. 1789–1807). This myth has gained authority and popularity mainly due to the fact that it is found in Öztuna’s encyclopaedia of Turkish music, which continues to be the most widely used reference work on the subject despite its often dubious scholarship.<sup>16</sup> It is also repeated in the standard

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<sup>13</sup> E.g. Ezgi 1933–53. Cf. Erguner 2003, 133.

<sup>14</sup> See e.g. Bilen 2016; İşler 2015; Küçük 2015; Yener 2015a, 2015b; Taşdelen 2014; Aydın 2003; Karamahmutoğlu 1999; Sunat 1998.

<sup>15</sup> The most reliable (albeit limited) accounts in Turkish are based on the work of Hisarlean (1914): see e.g. İnal 1958, 188–9; Ezgi 1933–53, V, 530. İnal does not provide a reference to Hisarlean’s work, but mentions elsewhere that he had benefited from it, and indeed that he knew Hisarlean personally (İnal 1958, 12–13, 62–3). A few Turkish–Armenian scholars have published brief biographies of Limōnčean in Turkish, e.g. Tuğlacı 1986, 171–5; Pamukciyan 2002–2003, IV, 289–92; Dadyan 2011a, 239–46. A number of other cursory discussions of Hampartsum notation appeared during the twentieth century, e.g. Sabuncu 1948; Sözer 1964, 247; Can 1968; Heper 1972; Bardakçı 1980; Özalp 1986, I, 93–4.

<sup>16</sup> Öztuna 1969–76, I, 248 (subsequent references are to the 1990 edition of this work). Selim III is first mentioned in connection with Limōnčean by Sabuncu (1948, 3), but does not appear in earlier sources. Both Suphi Ezgi and Rauf Yekta were aware that the notation system was created during the reign of Mahmud II



Turkish-language reference work on Ottoman history, the *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.<sup>17</sup> Another common misconception (also found in both sources) is that the notation system is based on the Armenian alphabet.<sup>18</sup>

These factual errors, while not unimportant, are symptomatic of deeper historiographical issues in Turkish musicology. The idea that the creation of Hampartsum notation was ordered by Selim III derives from a conservative and ethnocentric approach to Ottoman history, in which agency resides entirely in the sultan and the Muslim ruling elite. Developments amongst the non-Muslim communities of the empire are regarded as secondary and dependent on the ‘tolerance’ (*hoşgörü*) of the Muslim majority, while little attention is paid to the internal complexity of Ottoman society. Hampartsum notation is therefore absorbed into a homogeneous narrative of ‘Turkish’ music history, or is presented as evidence of the religious tolerance of the empire. In both cases, the role of non-Muslims as independent actors within Ottoman society and the importance of non-Turkish sources and narratives within the history of Ottoman music are disregarded.

Many of these issues were identified by Aram Kerovpyan and Altuğ Yılmaz in *Klasik Osmanlı Müziği ve Ermeniler* (‘Classical Ottoman Music and the Armenians’), published in 2010. This work is a crucial step towards rethinking the history of Ottoman music along more plural lines, and moreover presents for the first time in Turkish a concise but factually accurate history of Hampartsum notation. But although this has had some impact on Turkish musicology, there are indications that the earlier narrative continues to enjoy legitimacy.<sup>19</sup> There is still need, then, to investigate in greater depth the place of Hampartsum notation in Ottoman music history, and, relatedly, the connections between social or religious identity and musical practices during the late Ottoman period. The present thesis attempts to do this by analysing a wider range of

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(1808–39): see Ezgi 1933–53, V, 530; Ra’ûf Yektâ 1328/1912, 13 (translit. in Öncel 2010, 107); idem 1325/1909, 211 (translit. in Öncel 2010, 85 and Popescu-Judet 1998, 65). Armenian scholars writing in Turkish have perpetuated the myth of Selim III’s patronage of Limönçean, presumably as a means of legitimising the latter’s status as a great Ottoman composer. See e.g. Pamukciyan 2002–2003, IV, 290; Tuğlacı 1986, 172.

<sup>17</sup> Özcan 2003, 192.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 193; Öztuna 1990, II, 139. The perception amongst non-Armenians that Hampartsum notation was derived from the Armenian alphabet existed in the late nineteenth century: see Hâcî Emîn. 1302/1885, 10. Strangely, the assertion is repeated by the Turkish–Armenian scholar Pars Tuğlacı (1986, 172).

<sup>19</sup> For recent examples of the ‘hoşgörü’ narrative, see the essays by Mehmet Kınık and Fatma Âdile Başer in *Yeni Türkiye* (2014). The articles are published in a special series of the journal devoted to the ‘Armenian Question’ (*Ermeni Meselesi*). Although Başer is aware of the fact that the notation system was not directly commissioned by Selim III, she nonetheless argues – on the basis of secondary literature in Turkish – that it was inspired by Selim III’s musical patronage and by the example of earlier Mevlevi notation systems. See Chapter Four for a detailed refutation of the latter hypothesis.

primary sources than those examined in *Klasik Osmanlı Müziği ve Ermeniler*, and by attending more closely to recent debates in cultural history and (ethno)musicology.

Interest in Hampartsum notation amongst European scholars dates back to the turn of the twentieth century, when Pierre Aubry published a description of the notation system as well as a translation of a contemporary biography of Limōnčean.<sup>20</sup> However, as I discuss in Chapter Three, European scholars who wrote on Hampartsum notation during the early twentieth century usually had a background in philology or Byzantine musicology, and were influenced by a philhellenist narrative that assumed a direct connection between ancient Greece, Eastern Christianity and modern European civilisation.<sup>21</sup> For this reason, they either ignored the Ottoman context in which Armenian church music was practised in Istanbul, or condemned what they regarded as decadent ‘Arabo-Turkish’ musical influences. The modern reform of the medieval notation system was thus perceived as a sign of decline due to corruption by foreign elements.<sup>22</sup>

In more recent decades, Hampartsum notation has usually been approached by western scholars as an aspect of Turkish music history. The most important contributions in this area have come from German musicologists. Heinz-Peter Seidel’s article from 1973–4 provides brief information about the historical background of the notation system, but is mainly intended to provide a key to reading the notation system.<sup>23</sup> A more substantial treatment of Hampartsum notation appeared in 1996, with two volumes on manuscript collections of Ottoman music and their historical context by Ralf Martin Jäger.<sup>24</sup> Jäger has since published several articles on the contents of the collections, focused mainly on musical analysis but also discussing the role of the notation system in late Ottoman musical life.<sup>25</sup>

I have relied heavily on Jäger’s work, in particular his catalogue of manuscripts in Hampartsum notation. While the catalogue remains an indispensable resource, my own conclusions regarding the date and authorship of the collections differ from Jäger’s in several instances, which are discussed in detail in later chapters. These conclusions lead me to suggest a somewhat different historical trajectory for the notation system, particularly regarding its

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<sup>20</sup> Aubry 1901–03; cf. idem 1903.

<sup>21</sup> See e.g. Wellesz 1923, 83–95; idem 1920; Gastoué 1914; Wagner 1912, 21–31, 70–81.

<sup>22</sup> For a critical discussion of these trends in Byzantine musicology, see Lingas 2003.

<sup>23</sup> Seidel 1973. For analytical perspectives on Hampartsum notation, see also Chabrier 1986–7, 1989; Wright 1988, 2007.

<sup>24</sup> Jäger 1996a, 1996b.

<sup>25</sup> Jäger 2017, 2015, 2005, 1998, 1996c. See idem 2000 for a digital publication of a manuscript in Hampartsum notation.

adoption amongst Muslim musicians. Additionally, in his analysis of the origins and cultural context of Hampartsum notation, like other western scholars Jäger has tended to endorse the narrative found in secondary Turkish-language literature (including the trope of Selim III's support of the reform).<sup>26</sup> I have therefore attempted to provide a more balanced and detailed account of the historical development of the notation system by integrating into my research primary and secondary sources in Armenian.

## **Enlightenment, Nationalism and Connected History: Armenian Perspectives**

A significant drawback of existing literature on Hampartsum notation is that it fails to adequately contextualise it in relation to broader historical developments. Relatedly, scholarship on Armenian cultural and intellectual history has rarely discussed music, particularly within the Ottoman Empire.<sup>27</sup> Part of the reason for this is that the period between the end of the Cilician Kingdom (1375) and the establishment of an Armenian nation-state following World War I is commonly regarded as one of foreign domination, dispersal and cultural decline.<sup>28</sup> Another factor has been the shadow cast by the genocide of 1915 across all areas of Armenian studies, especially as they relate to the late Ottoman period.<sup>29</sup> However, as I show below, there has been a recent surge of interest in the history of the Ottoman Armenian community, which can help to situate musical developments within a broader social and cultural landscape.

In standard narratives of Armenian history, the emergence of the Armenian nation from its purported period of stagnation is deemed to have its origins in the intellectual developments of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The scholarly revival of interest in Armenian history and language, which was closely associated with the Mxit'arist monastery of San Lazzaro in Venice, is therefore sometimes referred to as the 'Armenian Renaissance'.<sup>30</sup> In the present

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<sup>26</sup> Jäger 1996a, 37–9; idem 1997, 390–91. See also e.g. Gill-Gürtan 2011a, 58; Signell 2008 [1977], 2; Reinhard and Reinhard 1984, 70–71; Greve 1995, 133.

<sup>27</sup> Occasional mentions of Hampartsum notation in studies of Armenian history are based on faulty information: Artinian, for example, writes that Limōnčean 'introduced western musical transcription to the Turks' (Artinian [1988], 39), a claim that is repeated by Somel (2007, 77).

<sup>28</sup> The first Republic of Armenia existed only between 1918 and 1920, before being absorbed into the Soviet Union (see Panossian 2006, 242–61).

<sup>29</sup> For a historical contextualisation of the Armenian genocide and its legacies, see Suny 2015; Suny et al 2011 and Göçek 2015.

<sup>30</sup> Although an equivalent term (*veracnund*, 'rebirth') was adopted by some of its proponents (Aslanian 2002, 14), in the present study I use the phrase 'Mxit'arist revival' to refer to this movement. This is in order to underline the historical specificity of the actors and institutions involved, and hopefully to avoid some of the triumphalist and Eurocentric undertones of the term 'renaissance'. Zekiyan favours 'rebirth' as a direct

thesis, I argue that the study of Hampartsum notation can offer a new perspective on this period of Armenian history, by demonstrating that the cultural activity stimulated by the Mxit'arist revival was intimately connected to developments within Ottoman urban society.

The Mxit'arist order was founded in Istanbul in 1701 by Mxit'ar of Sivas (1676–1749), a Catholic convert from Ottoman Anatolia, who was granted permission to establish a monastery on the island of San Lazzaro in the Venetian lagoon in 1717.<sup>31</sup> Shortly afterwards, Mxit'ar and his followers began to publish books in Armenian or Armeno-Turkish (Turkish in Armenian script), which were distributed throughout the urban centres of the Ottoman Empire and beyond.<sup>32</sup> While a large number of these publications were religious in nature, they also included books on philology and history as well as translations of works by classical or European authors. In addition, with the help of wealthy patrons from the merchant class, the Mxit'arists established schools, learned societies and periodicals in Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Through these endeavours, the order helped to stimulate debate about Armenian nationhood, centred on the perceived disparity between the achievements of Armenian antiquity and the contemporary conditions of the Armenian people.

Previous treatments of this period in Armenian history have retroactively integrated it into a discourse of national emancipation, and understood it as a prelude to the political activism of the late nineteenth century.<sup>33</sup> Hence, according to Vahé Oshagan, the 'Armenian intellectual revival ... entailed not only the enlightenment of a nation plunged into ignorance during three centuries of servitude, but also its political liberation from Turkish and Persian rule.'<sup>34</sup> However, rather than approaching the Mxit'arist revival as part of an autonomous history of the Armenian nation, in the present study I situate it in relation to both diverse local conditions and broader global trajectories. In this respect, I have been inspired by the work of Sebouh Aslanian, who has argued convincingly for the mutual benefits that can arise from an integration of Armenian history into the field of global history.<sup>35</sup>

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translation of *veracnund* (Zekiyan 1997b, 28), but does not thereby avoid a stadial approach to Armenian history (cf. Myers 1999, 129). For similarly internalist treatments of the Mxit'arist revival, see e.g. Adalian 1992; Oshagan 2004, 1999, 1983; Zekiyan 1999, 1997a.

<sup>31</sup> For general introductions to the history of the Mxit'arist order, see Whooley 2004 and Peratoner 2007. On their scholarly activities in particular, see Bardakjian [1976] and Panossian 2006, 101–109. See Chapter Two for further references.

<sup>32</sup> On the Mxit'arists' printing activities, see Aslanian 2016, 2014a, 2014b, 2013, 2012b.

<sup>33</sup> For a recent treatment of early Armenian nationalism, see Suny 2015, 64–90. See also Libaridian 2011.

<sup>34</sup> Oshagan 2004, 139.

<sup>35</sup> Aslanian 2014c. See also *idem* 2011.

Like the Mxit‘arist revival itself, Hampartsum notation emerged within a nexus of cultural and material flows that encompassed overlapping Armenian, Ottoman and European spheres. Following the work of Aslanian and other historians such as Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Christopher Bayly and Sebastian Conrad, I argue that the history of music also needs to be approached through a ‘global’ or ‘connected’ historiographical framework that emphasises entanglements across political or geographical boundaries, rather than through the paradigm of the nation-state.<sup>36</sup> As Conrad has argued, the concept of global history does not necessarily imply a totalising world history, but points towards the interconnectedness of historical developments even at the level of micro-history.<sup>37</sup> The invention of a new notation system in early nineteenth-century Istanbul can therefore provide a gateway to discussion of a range of other issues that connect the history of Ottoman music to wider processes in regional or global context. A key theme in this regard is the impact of Enlightenment thought on Armenian and Greek Orthodox intellectuals, which, I argue, was directly related to the notational reforms of the 1810s.

As a concept, ‘Enlightenment’ has often served a teleological historical narrative in which rationalism, secularism and liberalism are deemed to be the unique and defining achievements of modern western civilisation. Since the 1980s, however, scholars have argued for a more diverse interpretation of the term so as to include a wider spectrum of philosophical and political thought, as well as a broader geographical range that takes account of developments beyond the major cities of western Europe.<sup>38</sup> At the same time, the rise of postcolonial studies has led to an increased awareness of the relationship between the Enlightenment and imperialism, which highlights the interdependence of intellectual developments in Europe and global networks of trade and empire.<sup>39</sup> Other scholars have shown that the Enlightenment was continuously reinvented in local, non-European settings throughout the nineteenth century, and is better understood as a broad, multi-sited process rather than a singular intellectual event.<sup>40</sup>

The Mxit‘arist revival offers an important case study in the development of the Enlightenment project in an extra-European environment. While some scholars maintain that

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<sup>36</sup> Subrahmanyam 1997; Bayly 2004; Conrad 2016. On the global history of the nineteenth century, see also Osterhammel 2014 and Armitage and Subrahmanyam 2010. In relation to the Middle East and Islamic world in particular, see Gelvin and Green 2014; Kozma et al 2014 and Bayly and Fawaz 2002.

<sup>37</sup> Conrad 2016, 12.

<sup>38</sup> For a useful overview of recent approaches to the Enlightenment and their relation to global history, see Conrad 2012. For discussions of the Enlightenment in the context of the Ottoman Empire, see Erginbaş 2014; Küçük 2012; Kasaba 2003; Çırakman 2001.

<sup>39</sup> Collier 2014, 2010; Middell 2014; Nussbaum 2005.

<sup>40</sup> Conrad 2012.

radical secularism was a defining feature of the Enlightenment, others have shown how religious thinkers engaged creatively with the intellectual currents of the eighteenth century.<sup>41</sup> As a religiously oriented reform movement, the Mxit‘arist project might be compared with the Jewish *haskalah*, which also flourished in the context of a trade diaspora and was led by members of the religious class.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, the neo-Hellenic Enlightenment emerged through the confluence of religious and mercantile networks that allowed for the transmission of modern, rationalist ideas between Greek Orthodox communities in Europe and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>43</sup> As a facet of the missionary activity of the Catholic Church, the Mxit‘arist movement might also be considered in light of recent work on the global dimensions of the Catholic Enlightenment.<sup>44</sup>

While the Mxit‘arist revival was not a political movement, it did contribute to a new sense of Armenian nationhood. As a number of scholars have pointed out, the fact that the order was affiliated with Rome rather than the Armenian Apostolic Church produced a conception of the Armenian nation that was less closely bound to confessional identity.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, Mxit‘arist scholarship on Armenian history, geography and language led to increased consciousness of the Armenian nation as a historical entity, the notion of an ancient homeland, and the cultural–linguistic identity of the Armenian people.<sup>46</sup> Through their publications and educational activities, the Mxit‘arists attempted to foster a renewed sense of patriotism, believing that the Armenian nation had declined from its ancient glory due to its fragmentation into localised diasporas. This process could be reversed through a rediscovery of past cultural achievements, and especially through linguistic reform, which would help to establish a standardised, ‘purified’ language, and thus a unified sense of Armenian selfhood.

In many respects, the Mxit‘arist project thus fits a common pattern of national identity formation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Scholars of nationalism such as Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson regard linguistic homogenisation as central to the process of nation-building.<sup>47</sup> As I discuss in the following chapters, there are important parallels between the roles of language/script and music/notation in the process of national identity formation. The invention of Hampartsum notation was similarly intended to standardise and

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<sup>41</sup> For the ‘radical secularist’ interpretation of the Enlightenment, see especially Israel 2001 and Jacob 1981.

<sup>42</sup> Sorkin 2008, 1996.

<sup>43</sup> Kitromilides 2016, 2010b, 1994, 1992.

<sup>44</sup> Lehner 2016; Burson 2015, 2013a, 2013b.

<sup>45</sup> Aslanian 2004, 16–17; Panossian 2006, 107–108.

<sup>46</sup> On the relationship between political and cultural nationalism, see Hutchinson 1987.

<sup>47</sup> Anderson 2006; Hobsbawm 1990, 51–63, 110–20.

homogenise localised musical practices, which were regarded as corrupted due to foreign influence, and was an integral part of the larger project of what John Hutchinson has termed the ‘moral regeneration’ of the nation.<sup>48</sup> However, a closer investigation of the circumstances of its creation and dissemination shows that both the notation system itself and the individuals and institutions who propagated it were deeply embedded in the cultural and musical environment of Ottoman Istanbul.

The study of Hampartsum notation thus offers a way to explore the question of cultural nationalism in the context of a diasporic community that was integrated into a multi-confessional, multi-lingual empire. Like language, music holds an important place in the genealogy of nationalism, as an embodiment of national identity that, from a Herderian perspective, expresses the soul of a people.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, the role of music in Armenian historiography has typically been to validate the notion of an unchanging national essence that endured through centuries of foreign domination. However, the case of Hampartsum notation demonstrates that the history of Armenian music, like the ‘Armenian Renaissance’ itself, cannot be adequately understood without an engagement with the history of the Ottoman Empire.

In contrast to other areas of cultural and social life, there has been little serious study of music amongst the Armenian community of Istanbul. Following the example of Komitas, Armenian musicologists have focused on sacred and ‘folk’ music, both seen as repositories of national heritage.<sup>50</sup> Accordingly, interactions between Armenian and Muslim music cultures in the urban centres of the empire have usually been portrayed in terms of the suppression of the national spirit. In a recent collection of essays on ‘Armenian Constantinople’, for example, the chapter on music asserts that ‘total immersion in the dominant Ottoman musical culture for four centuries had caused the loss of Armenian national musical identity’.<sup>51</sup>

There are recent signs, however, that scholars of Armenian music are beginning to question the value of ethno-nationalist approaches, and to explore contacts between Armenian communities and their wider Middle Eastern environment. Apart from the work of Aram Kerovpyan and Haig Utidjian, discussed above, notable recent contributions to Armenian musicology include Melissa Bilal’s study of Armenian lullabies in Turkey, and work by Burcu

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<sup>48</sup> Hutchinson 1987.

<sup>49</sup> Bohlman 2013a; Herder and Bohlman 2017.

<sup>50</sup> For a comprehensive bibliography of sources related to Armenian music (under the revealing rubrics ‘Folk Music’, ‘Classical Music’ [i.e. western art music] and ‘Sacred Music’, with a discography of ‘Popular Music’), see McCollum and Nersessian 2004. See also Komitas Vardapet 1998, 2001; At’ayan 1999; Nersessian 1978; Nersessian 2002, 2001; Kazandjian 1984.

<sup>51</sup> Agbabian Hubbard 2010, 288.

Yıldız and Sylvia Alajaji on musical identities in the post-Ottoman Armenian diaspora.<sup>52</sup> However, while these studies are theoretically post-nationalist, they nonetheless emphasise modern narratives of Armenian identity, foregrounding notions of exile and homeland that stem from late nineteenth- and twentieth-century political discourse. By contrast, in the present thesis I show how Armenian musical identity was deeply embedded in Ottoman urban life before the rise of ethno-nationalism in the late nineteenth century, and overlapped with both Muslim and Greek Orthodox music cultures in the imperial capital. In this regard, I hope to contribute to a growing body of scholarship on the history of the Armenian community in the late Ottoman Empire, from which music has so far been largely absent.

The dearth of historical research on Ottoman–Armenian musical life stands in contrast to the rich array of studies in other fields that have appeared in recent years. Leaving aside the vast literature on political developments at the turn of twentieth century, important contributions to Ottoman–Armenian intellectual and social history have been made by Anahide Ter Minassian, Kevork Pamukciyan and Hagop Barsoumian.<sup>53</sup> The Istanbul-based publishing house Aras has encouraged debate about the history of the Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey through the translation and publication of the latter works, as well as many others.<sup>54</sup> Scholarship on the role of Armenians in Ottoman theatre has similarly been supported by BGST Yayınları, who have published pioneering work on this subject by Fırat Güllü, Boğos Levon Zekiyan and Yervant Baret Manok.<sup>55</sup> In art history, recent publications by Garo Kürkman, Alyson Wharton, David Low and Vazken Khatchig Davidian have demonstrated the centrality of Armenian artists for the development of Ottoman architecture and visual culture.<sup>56</sup> There has also been increased interest in Armeno-Turkish literature since the edition by Andreas Tietze of Vartan Paşa’s *Akabi Hikayesi* in 1991, with more recent contributions by Laurent Mignon and Murat Cankara.<sup>57</sup>

The present thesis therefore aims to provide a musical perspective on debates about the relations between the Armenian community of Istanbul and the wider Ottoman environment.

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<sup>52</sup> Bilal 2013; Yıldız 2016; Alajaji 2015. See also Kassabian 2013. On the formation of the imperial band of Ethiopia, consisting of Armenian orphans from Jerusalem, see Adjemian 2013.

<sup>53</sup> Ter Minassian 2006; Pamukciyan 2002–2003; Barsoumian 2013. See also Artinian 2004 and Dadyan 2011b.

<sup>54</sup> Birzamanlar Yayıncılık have also published works related to Armenian studies, including a Turkish translation of T’eodoros Lap’činçean’s history of Armenian printing, *Tip u Tar* (originally published in 1912) (Teotig 2012). See also the web-based project Houshamadyan, run by Elke Hartmann, which provides a rich archive of resources on Ottoman Armenian cultural life, including musical recordings from the early twentieth century: [www.houshamadyan.org](http://www.houshamadyan.org) (accessed 21 April 2017).

<sup>55</sup> Güllü 2008; Zekiyan 2013; Manok 2013. See also Şarasan 2008.

<sup>56</sup> Kürkman 2004; Wharton 2015; Low 2015; Davidian 2014, 2015.

<sup>57</sup> Vartan Paşa 1991; Mignon 2011, 2007–8, 2002; Cankara 2014a, 2014b. See also Sagaster 2011.



By engaging with the above-mentioned literature, I show how developments in Armenian musical life in the nineteenth century were part of a larger historical moment that encompassed transformations in diverse social and cultural spheres. Furthermore, in common with much of this work, I discuss musical developments not solely with reference to the internal history of the Armenian community, but in relation to Ottoman cultural history more broadly speaking.

## **Cultural History and Musicology in Ottoman Studies**

While Ottoman studies was dominated for much of the twentieth century by political and military history, interest in social, urban and cultural history has been steadily increasing since the 1980s. As Dana Sajdi points out, the emergence of new approaches to Ottoman history was tied to a larger historiographical shift away from the notion of ‘decline’, and towards the study of the internal dynamism and adaptability of the empire in the ‘post-classical’ era.<sup>58</sup> Relatedly, while the nineteenth century was long regarded as a period of western-inspired reform that led inexorably to the founding of a secular nation-state, more recent scholarship has attempted to understand Ottoman responses to modernity on their own terms.<sup>59</sup> The most recent studies of the reigns of Selim III (1789–1807) and Mahmud II (1808–39) therefore investigate the local power networks and intellectual contexts in which Ottoman reforms were enacted, and attempt to integrate political developments with the social and urban history of the empire.<sup>60</sup>

A further implication of this revisionist approach, prompted in part by the rise of global history, is that contacts between the Ottoman Empire and Europe need to be understood in terms of long-term exchanges and interconnections, rather than through the paradigm of top-down ‘westernisation’.<sup>61</sup> In this regard, work by Natalie Rothman on Ottoman–Venetian encounters and by Shirine Hamadeh on architecture and urban society in the eighteenth century has helped me to conceptualise the intersection of Ottoman and European currents in the making of

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<sup>58</sup> Sajdi 2007. On the ‘decline’ hypothesis in Ottomanist historiography, see Quataert 2003; Hathaway 2004; Kafadar 1997–8. For recent studies of social, urban and cultural history, see e.g. Clayer and Kaynar 2013; Boyar and Fleet 2010; Faroqhi 2015, 2005; Faroqhi and Neumann 2003; Faroqhi and Öztürkmen 2014; Eldem et al 1999; Çelik 2008.

<sup>59</sup> For examples of the earlier ‘modernisation’ paradigm, see Lewis 1961; Polk and Chambers 1968; Davison 1990. For a critique, see Ze‘evi 2004. For recent theoretical approaches to Ottoman modernity, see Emrence 2011 and Barkey 2008.

<sup>60</sup> Yaycioglu 2016; Başaran 2014; Philliou 2011. For other studies of Selim III’s reign, see Shaw 1971; Zorlu 2011 and Kenan 2010. For a concise introduction to the Ottoman nineteenth century, see Hanioglu 2008.

<sup>61</sup> See Andrews and Kalpaklı 2005; Faroqhi 2004 and Firges et al 2014 for ‘entangled’ approaches to Ottoman history.

Hampartsum notation.<sup>62</sup> Drawing partly on Hamadeh's approach to architectural history, I have attempted to situate the invention of Hampartsum notation in relation to internal developments in Ottoman society during the long eighteenth century, rather than as a prefiguration of the state-led reforms known as the Tanzimat (1839–76). Paolo Girardelli's research on Catholic urban space in Istanbul has also been valuable as an example of entangled history that is rooted in local social or aesthetic practices.<sup>63</sup>

Taking a connected approach to Ottoman studies also means that non-Turkish-language sources and 'national' histories need to be incorporated into a broader and more diverse imperial history.<sup>64</sup> Relatedly, there has been a growth of interest in the non-Muslim communities of the empire. I have found much of this work useful in trying to understand the social, cultural and intellectual contexts in which musical interactions between Muslim and non-Muslims took place. In particular, research on Ottoman printing and literature by scholars such as Johann Strauss, Evangelia Balta and Matthias Kappler has demonstrated that the history of Ottoman letters can be written only from a multi-lingual and multi-confessional perspective.<sup>65</sup> As I show in later chapters, there are a number of interconnections between Ottoman literacy and musical transmission, while the history of music printing represents an important but under-researched dimension of late Ottoman cultural life.

Intercommunal music-making is often held up as an example of the religious tolerance of the Ottoman Empire, whether as an aspect of popular nostalgia driven by the tourist and world music industries or within neo-Ottomanist narratives of Turkish history.<sup>66</sup> However, there has been no detailed sociological investigation of the extent and nature of musical interactions between Muslim and non-Muslim communities in Istanbul before the Tanzimat. Furthermore, much of the literature on intercommunality, as its critics have pointed out, valorises a notion of cosmopolitanism that is based on a transient moment in the final decades of the empire, and fails to acknowledge the religious distinctions that were essential to the stability of Ottoman society in earlier periods.<sup>67</sup> In the present study, I attempt to provide a deeper historical perspective on intercommunal musical relations, by discussing not only contacts and

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<sup>62</sup> Hamadeh 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2004; Rothman 2013, 2012.

<sup>63</sup> Girardelli 2016, 2010, 2005.

<sup>64</sup> Eldem 2013a.

<sup>65</sup> See e.g. Strauss 2011, 2003a, 1995a; Balta 2013, 2010; Balta and Ölmez 2014, 2011; Kappler 2006.

<sup>66</sup> Poulos 2014a, 2013; Jackson 2013, 117–40; Stokes 2010, 130–40. On the relationship between faith tourism and world music in contemporary Turkey, see Senay 2015b, 2014 and Vicente 2007.

<sup>67</sup> Hanley 2008; Driessen 2006; Freitag 2014; Eldem 2013b, 2006; Salzmann 2012. For a critical reading of the concept of cosmopolitanism in relation to world music, see Stokes 2007.

exchanges, but also boundaries and differences, and by taking account of the ways in which such relations were transformed during the nineteenth century. In sum, the study of Hampartsum notation can offer new perspectives on key themes in late Ottoman history, including entanglements with Europe, questions of reform and modernity, and relations between Muslim and non-Muslim communities.

Although Ottoman cultural history has become a well-established field in recent years, there has been remarkably little discussion of music within this literature. The reasons for this may be all too familiar to musicologists: music is commonly regarded as inaccessible to scholarly research, as a form of ‘entertainment’ that is largely irrelevant to concrete historical events, or as the domain of highly-trained specialists.<sup>68</sup> Indeed, while there have been recent calls by Ziad Fahmy and Nina Ergin to investigate the sonic dimensions of Ottoman or Middle Eastern history, reflecting parallel developments in European historiography, they give no attention to previous research on Ottoman music.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, ground-breaking studies of Ottoman poetry by Walter Andrews, Mehmet Kalpaklı and Victoria Holbrook have done much to situate elite literary practices in their wider social and historical context, but nonetheless reify the poetic text by disregarding its performative and musical aspects.<sup>70</sup> Likewise, Matthias Kappler’s study of Greco-Turkish song-text collections, while an invaluable resource for scholars of Ottoman music, is oriented primarily towards language and literature studies.<sup>71</sup>

Music has been given somewhat more attention in the literature on representation and imperial image-making during the late nineteenth century. Selim Deringil and Zeynep Çelik have briefly discussed the role of military bands in defining the public image of the Ottoman sultanate during this period, while Darin Stephanov and Risto Pekka Pennanen have

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<sup>68</sup> For a discussion of the intellectual genealogy of such attitudes in relation to Mughal historiography, see Butler Brown 2009. Faroqi pleads lack of expertise as a reason for not including music in her seminal study of Ottoman cultural history (Faroqi 2005, 291n70), while Hamadeh mentions ‘innovations in court music’ as an aspect of changing cultural sensibilities in the eighteenth century, but does not offer a citation (Hamadeh 2004, 45). A notable exception to the lack of attention given to music by Ottomanist historians is Malte Fuhrmann’s work on itinerant Bohemian musicians in late nineteenth-century port cities (Fuhrmann 2009). The art historian Tülay Artan’s otherwise well-informed discussion of Ottoman music unfortunately reproduces the trope of Selim III’s role in the invention of Hampartsum notation (Artan 2013, 762).

<sup>69</sup> Fahmy 2013. See also idem 2011 and Ergin 2015, 2014, 2013, 2008.

<sup>70</sup> Andrews 1985; Andrews and Kalpaklı 2005; Holbrook 1994. Holbrook briefly cites Tanburi Cemil Bey’s reputation in present-day Tunisia as proof of ‘an enduring Ottoman reputation for leadership in the musical arts of the Near East’ (1994, 24–5). This presentist statement about music, based entirely on anecdotal evidence, contrasts markedly with her careful and theoretically sophisticated treatment of Ottoman literary texts. Andrews mentions musicians as ‘part of the entertainment’ at courtly gatherings (1985, 160), though he concedes elsewhere that the situation may have been more complex (ibid, 179). For a recent discussion of the Ottoman *meclis*, see Ertuğ 2014.

<sup>71</sup> Kappler 2002.

investigated the use of official music in the Ottoman Balkans.<sup>72</sup> This work might be grouped together with a number of other works on western music and theatre in the late Ottoman Empire by Adam Mestyan, Emre Aracı, Ömer Eğecioğlu and Selçuk Alimdar, amongst others.<sup>73</sup> While these studies are valuable in their own right, they necessarily concentrate on the adoption of European cultural institutions at state level, while largely ignoring the relation of such practices to more established musical traditions cultivated amongst local Ottoman communities. This approach, common to almost all of the above-mentioned works, contributes to a problematic sense that ‘Ottoman music’ was non-existent before the importation of western cultural forms in the late nineteenth century.<sup>74</sup>

In short, while there is an emerging body of high-quality scholarship on subjects that are directly or indirectly linked to music and sound in Ottoman studies, there has been almost no dialogue between this literature and existing research on Ottoman music *per se*. Part of the reason for this is surely the tendency of Ottomanist music scholars to focus on philological or music-analytical questions rather than issues of socio-cultural context. Pioneering research in the field by Owen Wright, for example, is densely analytical and thus inaccessible to all but the most intrepid non-specialist.<sup>75</sup> A number of other Turkish and non-Turkish musicologists, including Yalçın Tura, Murat Bardakçı, Recep Uslu, Nilgün Doğrusöz, Eckhard Neubauer and Eugenia Popescu-Judet, have focused principally on the edition of primary sources and their music-theoretical interpretation.<sup>76</sup>

Other recent publications, such as those of Kyriakos Kalaitzidis and Harun Korkmaz, provide valuable survey catalogues of neglected musical corpora, but offer little convincing discussion of their cultural-historical significance.<sup>77</sup> In addition, two recent edited volumes, which include contributions from nearly all of the major figures in the field of Ottoman music

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<sup>72</sup> Deringil 1993, 9–10; Çelik 2008, 239–45; Pennanen 2013; Stephanov 2013. Strauss (2013, 193–7) has also discussed the role of non-Muslims in relation to Ottoman ‘national’ hymns in the early twentieth century.

<sup>73</sup> Mestyan 2014a, 2014b, 2013, 2012, 2011; Aracı 2010, 2006; Eğecioğlu 2012; Alimdar 2016; Baydar 2010. See also the essays on nineteenth-century theatre and opera in Faroqhi and Öztürkmen 2014 and Hüttler and Weidinger 2013–16. On jazz in early twentieth-century Istanbul, see Woodall 2010.

<sup>74</sup> Selçuk Alimdar’s work is exceptional in this regard, as he does discuss the integration of western musical practices into traditional Ottoman (‘*alaturka*’) music (Alimdar 2016, 357 ff.).

<sup>75</sup> See e.g. Wright 2000, 1992b, 1988. For more accessible essays, see idem 2013, 2011, 2010.

<sup>76</sup> Tura 2001; Bardakçı 2008; Uslu 2015, 2001; Uslu and Doğrusöz Dişiaçık 2009; Doğrusöz 2012; Popescu-Judet and Ababi Sirli 2000; Popescu-Judet 2002, 1998; Wright 1992a; Neubauer 1999; Popescu-Judet and Neubauer 2004. See also Yalçın 2016; Marağa 2015a; Ekinci 2016; Cevher 2003; Akdoğu 1992. Cem Behar has recently written about the fetishisation of manuscript sources in Ottoman music studies (Behar 2017); while the general point is a valid one, his criticisms of Ekinci’s edition of the *Kevseri Mecmuası* are somewhat exaggerated. Behar himself has also published editions of Ottoman music manuscripts (e.g. Behar 2010; see also idem 2008b).

<sup>77</sup> Kalaitzidis 2012; Korkmaz 2015.

studies, are focused predominantly on musical analysis, while discussions of historical methodology make no reference to non-musicological scholarship.<sup>78</sup> There is, then, a strong emphasis on the excavation, cataloguing and analysis of texts, but little in the way of historiographical reflection or dialogue with scholars in neighbouring disciplines.

To be sure, I have benefited from much of this work, and I attempt to demonstrate in the following chapters that rigorous philological research is essential to wider cultural–historical debates. Indeed, my own publications on Ottoman music (including my contribution to one of the edited volumes mentioned above) have followed the analytical methodology established by Owen Wright.<sup>79</sup> Yet I would suggest that a neglect of cultural–historical questions has contributed to the marginalisation of music scholarship in Ottoman studies, and also to the lack of informed debate about the Ottoman Empire in historical musicology. Rifa‘at Ali Abou-El-Haj’s observations about the particularism of Ottomanist historiography are thus equally pertinent (if not more so) to Ottoman music studies. As he writes: ‘We have made our field into such an esoteric one that most of the time other researchers cannot fathom what we are trying to do.’<sup>80</sup>

Walter Feldman’s *Music of the Ottoman Court* (1996) remains the most important and accessible monograph on Ottoman music history as a whole, and does include thorough discussion of the social bases of the tradition.<sup>81</sup> While Feldman has made innovative analyses of the relation between changes in musical life and the organisation of the Ottoman palace, he has tended to favour state-centred narratives of imperial growth and decline, rather than drawing on more recent debates in Ottoman social and cultural history.<sup>82</sup> Relatedly, like most scholars of Ottoman music, although he acknowledges the importance of non-Muslim musicians, Feldman relies predominantly on Turkish-language sources, and his discussions of socio-cultural context are therefore heavily weighted towards Muslim elites. Partly for this reason, as I argue in Chapter Four, his conclusions regarding the adoption of notation are based on a somewhat simplistic notion of westernisation, which is at odds with the more nuanced

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<sup>78</sup> Helvacı et al 2017; Greve 2015. The latter is titled *Writing the History of “Ottoman Music”*, which suggests a historiographical orientation, but the contributors mostly offer personal reflections on Ottoman music history, rather than attempting to engage with literature in Ottoman studies or historiography more broadly.

<sup>79</sup> Olley 2018, 2017, 2012.

<sup>80</sup> Abou-El-Haj 1991, 2; cited in Andrews and Kalpaklı 2005, 25.

<sup>81</sup> Feldman 1996, 39–104. See also Feldman’s discussion of the role of myth and nationalism in Turkish music historiography (Feldman 1990–91).

<sup>82</sup> Feldman’s most recent and thought-provoking discussion of Ottoman music history (2015) takes its historiographical cues from Marshall Hodgson’s *The Venture of Islam* (1974–7).

approaches to Ottoman–European interactions that have emerged in other areas of Ottoman studies.

A handful of Turkish scholars have made substantial contributions to the history of Ottoman music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, though again by concentrating on Turkish-language sources. I have benefited especially from Cem Behar’s arguments about oral transmission (*meşk*) in my discussion of attitudes towards notation among Ottoman musicians.<sup>83</sup> But whereas Behar tends to dichotomise the relationship between oral and literate transmission, I attempt to demonstrate the ambivalence and interconnections that characterised the relationship between music and writing in the late Ottoman period. While I concur with Behar that *meşk* continued to be the main mode of transmission throughout the nineteenth century, I also show that a small but significant group of Ottoman musicians, including both Muslims and non-Muslims, were zealous advocates of notation.<sup>84</sup>

Two recent monographs have shown how Ottoman music studies can be enriched by deeper engagement with social and cultural history and by the inclusion of non-Turkish-language sources. The present thesis might in some ways be considered a companion to Merih Erol’s study of musical debates amongst the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul (2015) and Maureen Jackson’s book on Jewish music-making in Turkey (2013).<sup>85</sup> As I demonstrate in the following chapters, there are a number of parallels especially between Greek Orthodox and Armenian musical life during the nineteenth century. However, whereas these studies focus on the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in the present thesis I extend the debate about intercommunal musical relations back into the eighteenth century, while also giving more attention to philological research on the sources of Ottoman music.

A number of scholars have discussed the legacy of Ottoman music in the Republic of Turkey. I have found John O’Connell’s work useful particularly in relation to debates about

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<sup>83</sup> Behar 2013, 2006a, 1995, 1992, 1987. For recent Turkish-language scholarship on music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see also Toker 2016; Özden 2015; Paçacı 2010. On the history of the phonograph in the late Ottoman and early Republican periods, see Ünlü 2016.

<sup>84</sup> In his earliest discussion of oral transmission Behar makes the exaggerated claim that ‘almost no composer of classical Turkish music used notation to compose, perform or teach’ (Behar 1987, 9), and that Ottoman music was not notated until the beginning of the twentieth century (ibid, 19). He has recently tempered this position by acknowledging the existence of Greek and Armenian notation systems (idem 2015, 19, 162). In his discussion of Hampartsum notation, he confuses the Tiwzean family with another prominent Armenian *amira* family, the Tateans (Tr. Dadyan) (ibid, 27).

<sup>85</sup> See also Erol 2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2013, 2011; Jackson 2011, 2010. Judith Haug’s research on Ali Ufuki’s seventeenth-century music collections, which demonstrates engagement not only with Ottoman studies but also with historical musicology, can be cited as another encouraging sign of the broadening of the field of Ottoman music studies. See Haug 2017, 2016, 2013. On Greek Orthodox musicians in the late Ottoman period, see also Kavliotis 2012.

modernity and westernisation amongst Turkish musicians in the early twentieth century, while Panagiotis Poulos, Banu Senay and Denise Gill-Gürtan have made valuable contributions to the study of orality, sociability and (religious) identity in contemporary Ottoman/Turkish music.<sup>86</sup> However, while scholars such as Poulos and Jackson are more aware of the complexity of late Ottoman society, ethnomusicological research on Turkey often views the imperial past through the prism of the nation-state, assuming an essential continuity between Ottoman musical practices and ‘Turkish classical music’, which was disrupted only by the secularising ideology of the Republican intelligentsia. Such an approach reinforces the chauvinist argument that ‘Ottoman music is Turkish music!’ as one scholar has recently asserted.<sup>87</sup> In the following chapters, I attempt to show that this narrative can be destabilised through a closer engagement with pre-twentieth-century sources, and with current debates in Ottoman and global history.

## History and (Ethno)Musicology

One reason for the lack of a deeper historical perspective in much of the scholarship on contemporary Turkish music is the marginalisation of historical research and methodology in ethnomusicology more generally speaking. Conversely, the field of ‘historical musicology’ has been slow to integrate histories of non-western music cultures.<sup>88</sup> As Gary Tomlinson has argued, the emergence of historical musicology as a discipline was intertwined with notions of European exceptionalism, predicated on the belief that history – as a synonym for progress – is unique to the West.<sup>89</sup> Partly for this reason, ‘ethnomusicology’ continues to be used to label any scholarship on non-western music, while the term ‘historical musicology’ is reserved for the study of European art music.

To be sure, this terminology has come under increased scrutiny in recent years, and ethnographic or sociological methodologies are now frequently applied to western musical traditions.<sup>90</sup> Yet historical research about music in the non-western world continues to occupy

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<sup>86</sup> O’Connell 2013, 2005, 2000; Poulos 2014a, 2014b, 2013, 2011; Gill-Gürtan 2011a, 2011b; Senay 2015a, 2015b, 2014, 2009. For other discussions of Ottoman music in the contemporary period, see Haug 2015; Beken 2003, 1998; Greve 1995. For ethnomusicological studies of Turkish music culture more generally, see Stokes 2010, 1992; Greve 2003; Solomon 2013a, 2013b, 2011; Bates 2016; Hamelink 2016.

<sup>87</sup> Başer [2017].

<sup>88</sup> A recent example being, as Katherine Butler Schofield (2014) has pointed out, the conspicuous absence of non-European perspectives from the *Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music* (Fulcher 2011).

<sup>89</sup> Tomlinson 2003.

<sup>90</sup> For further discussion of the politics of disciplinary boundaries in music studies, see Greve 2016 and Stobart 2008.

a marginal position within both ethnomusicology and historical musicology. A survey of articles published in *Ethnomusicology Forum* between 2011 and 2015, for example, shows that only five (out of a total of around 90) contributions dealt with music history.<sup>91</sup> More problematically, a recent edited volume on ‘historical ethnomusicology’ displays little awareness of historical research methods, and is largely indistinguishable from a publication on ethnomusicology.<sup>92</sup>

There is, in fact, a substantial literature on the history of non-western art music traditions, including those of the Middle East, that can be traced back to the work of orientalists such as William Jones (1743–94), Rodolphe d’Erlanger (1872–1932) and Henry George Farmer (1882–1965), and which was carried into the later twentieth century by scholars such as Laurence Picken and Richard Widdess.<sup>93</sup> However, as with Ottomanist music scholarship, the focus has been on fine-grained philological analysis rather than social or cultural history, and such studies have had limited impact outside of specialist circles. Furthermore, as Keith Howard points out, ethnomusicology as a discipline has sought to distance itself from ‘orientalist’ approaches to music, which are perceived as ideologically tainted by their associations with colonialism.<sup>94</sup>

Since the 1990s, there have been several attempts to bring together ethnographic and historical approaches to music, most notably in four collected volumes edited by Philip Bohlman and various other scholars.<sup>95</sup> The most recent of these, the *Cambridge History of World Music* (2013), demonstrates the diversity of approaches to historical musicology in non-western contexts, while also acknowledging the entanglement of European and non-European music histories. However, while it includes a number of deeply researched historical case studies, the tendency of the volume as a whole is instead towards methodological reflection on the concept of ‘world music’. Consequently, the Ottoman Empire figures only as a foil for discussion of orientalism in eighteenth-century European opera, rather than as a site of musicological enquiry in its own right.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Wiggins 2016, 259.

<sup>92</sup> McCollum and Hebert 2014. For detailed critiques, see the reviews by Olley (2015) and Stock (2016).

<sup>93</sup> See e.g. Picken et al 1981–2000; Widdess 1995. On Jones’ place in the history and historiography of South Asian music, see Butler Schofield 2010, 504–5. On d’Erlanger, see Davis 2004, 41–50; on Farmer, see Cowl and Craik 1999.

<sup>94</sup> Howard 2014, 338–44.

<sup>95</sup> Nettl and Bohlman 1991; Bergeron and Bohlman 1992; Blum et al 1993; Bohlman 2013.

<sup>96</sup> See the contribution by Klotz (2013); see Olley 2016 for further discussion. It is notable that the only other discussion of Ottoman music in the above-mentioned volumes focuses on the same eighteenth-century French-language text: see Shiloah 1993.



This approach is reflective of a larger trend within historical musicology, influenced by the work of Edward Said, which seeks to explore musical exoticism as a means of reflecting on European cultural identity.<sup>97</sup> As the imagined source of many of the themes and materials of orientalist operas and music, the Ottoman Empire has appeared as a historical Other in a number of such studies, most recently in Larry Wolff's *The Singing Turk* (2016) and four volumes of essays edited by Michael Hüttler and Hans Ernst Weidinger.<sup>98</sup> More generally, the influence of postcolonial studies and global history have led to a raft of publications dealing with musical exoticism, musical encounters in the colonial world, and representations of non-European music as an aspect of nineteenth-century imperialism.<sup>99</sup>

While these studies constitute an necessary step towards situating European music history in global context, they are disadvantaged by their almost exclusive reliance on European-language sources and an overwhelming focus on European art music. Hence, while they provide an increasingly detailed and theoretically sophisticated history of European imaginings of the non-western world, they tell us little about the cultural, intellectual or musical practices of the 'Other'. In this regard, they are symptomatic of a larger tendency in postcolonial and anti-orientalist scholarship to reduce complex, multi-lateral historical developments to a simple story of increasing western political, economic and cultural hegemony.

In the present study, I aim instead to approach the global history of music through the analysis of local developments in Ottoman Istanbul, while at the same time taking account of their wider historical connections. The thesis thus suggests ways to move beyond Eurocentric approaches to global music history, as well as the confines of Ottomanist musicology, by engaging closely with Ottoman texts, actors and musical practices yet situating them in relation to broader historiographical debates. I hope this approach redresses, to some small degree, the imbalance between Ottoman and European perspectives in the scholarship on 'Turkish' music and orientalism, by demonstrating that the Enlightenment has a musical history beyond the salons and opera houses of Europe.

The thesis might also be situated in relation to a range of other studies that combine European and non-European perspectives, or anthropological and historical approaches to musicology. Scholars such as Bonnie Wade, Allyn Miner and Katherine Butler Schofield have

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<sup>97</sup> For recent perspectives on Edward Said and musicology, see Cohen et al 2016.

<sup>98</sup> Wolff 2016; Hüttler and Weidinger 2013–16. There are some notable exceptions to the general Eurocentrism of the 'Ottomania' volumes: see especially the essays by Artan (2013) and Sabev (2016).

<sup>99</sup> See e.g. Locke 2011; Agnew 2008; Cowgill and Rushton 2006; Fauser 2005; Irving 2010; Woodfield 2000; Beckles Willson 2013; Clayton and Zon 2007; van der Linden 2013; Richards 2001.

demonstrated how musicological research can be integrated into the larger frameworks of Islamicate or South Asian cultural history.<sup>100</sup> In particular, Schofield's work of the role of music in Mughal courtly culture, and her more recent research on the connected history of music in the eastern Indian Ocean during the long nineteenth century, have helped me to locate Ottoman music in a broader historiographical landscape.<sup>101</sup> Gary Tomlinson's wide-ranging studies of music in early modern Europe and the New World also provide examples of how music history can be approached from an interdisciplinary perspective that incorporates insights and methodologies from cultural history and anthropology.<sup>102</sup>

The major themes in the following chapters are not unique to Ottoman music history, and should therefore be seen within a broader global context. The question of musical literacy and its socio-cultural bases has been addressed by scholars of western chant such as Leo Treitler, Peter Jeffery and Anna Maria Busse Berger, amongst others.<sup>103</sup> My interpretation of the cultural significance of notation in the Ottoman world is informed by these studies as well as by a larger body of research on the social uses of literacy.<sup>104</sup> By examining Ottoman attitudes towards music and writing, the thesis offers a new perspective on debates about musical literacy, which have generally focused on analytical rather than socio-cultural issues or have been limited to European environments.<sup>105</sup>

The importance of notation for musical canon formation is, of course, a well-researched subject, and there are a number of ethnomusicological studies of this topic. Most relevant in this regard are monographs by Ruth Davis, Jonathan Glasser, Rachel Harris on the musical traditions of Tunisia, Algeria and Chinese Central Asia, respectively, as well as studies of Hindustani and Carnatic musics by the historians Janaki Bakhle and Lakshmi Subramanian.<sup>106</sup> However, whereas these works have focused on state-led nationalism, technologisation and westernisation as the driving forces of musical canon formation in the twentieth century, I have attempted to trace the contours of an earlier historical moment in which local debates about

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<sup>100</sup> Wade 1999; Miner 1993; Butler Schofield 2012, 2010, 2007; Butler Brown 2006a, 2006b. See also Orsini and Butler Schofield 2015. For a cultural–historical approach to music in Ming China, see Lam 1998.

<sup>101</sup> See also publications by other scholars involved in Schofield's project "Musical Transitions to European Colonialism in the Eastern Indian Ocean", e.g. Byl 2014 and Sykes 2017, 2015.

<sup>102</sup> Tomlinson 2007a, 2007b, 1993.

<sup>103</sup> Treitler 2003; Jeffery 1992; Busse Berger 2005. See also Kelly 2009 and Levy 1998. On the revival of Gregorian chant in the nineteenth century, see Bergeron 1998.

<sup>104</sup> In particular, Olson 1996; Olson and Torrance 1991; Street 1993; Carruthers 2008. On orality and literacy in the Islamic world, see Messick 1993; Hanna 2007 and Bloom 2010.

<sup>105</sup> For ethnomusicological discussions of orality/literacy, see Sborgi-Lawson 2010; Shelemay et al 1993; Tokumaru and Yamaguti 1986.

<sup>106</sup> Davis 2004; Glasser 2016; Harris 2008; Bakhle 2005; Subramanian 2006. On canonisation in Persian music, see also Lucas 2014 and Nooshin 2015.

cultural identity, institutionalisation and technological reform intersected with global intellectual and material flows.

## Key Sources and Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is based on primary sources mainly in Armenian and Ottoman Turkish.<sup>107</sup> The principal source for my conclusions regarding the invention of Hampartsum notation is the 1997 edition of Minas Bžškean's treatise on music. Complementing this source, I have relied on two works published at the turn of the twentieth century that contain excerpts from Hambarjum Limōnčean's memoir as well as further biographical information about Armenian musicians of the nineteenth century.<sup>108</sup> Gabriēl Mēnēvišean's study of the Tiwzean family (1890) provided essential information about the patrons of Hampartsum notation and their socio-cultural environment. For information about the musical reforms of Chrysanthos of Madytos and his collaborators, I have relied mainly on Katy Romanou's English translation of *Theōrētikon mega tēs mousikēs*, as well as the relevant secondary literature. My discussion of previous uses of notation in Ottoman music is based on sources that form a staple of Ottomanist musicology, including works by Ali Ufuki, Nayi Osman Dede, Demetrius Cantemir, Tanburi Arut'in and Abdülbaki Nasır Dede.<sup>109</sup>

For contextual information about musical life at the court and in the city, I have used modern editions of Turkish-language sources including Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, Esad Efendi's biographical dictionary of musicians, and nineteenth-century accounts of palace life by Süleyman Faik Efendi, Hızır İlyas Ağa, Şanizade Ataullah Efendi and Tayyarzade Ahmed Ata. I have also drawn on works in English, French, Italian and German by European visitors to Istanbul during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. My conclusions about the uses of Hampartsum notation amongst Ottoman musicians are based on the study of 69 manuscript collections, spanning the period between the early nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For discussions of nineteenth-century vocal repertoire, apart from the available notated sources I have relied mainly on the second edition of Haşim Bey's song-text collection (1864). For debates about notation in the later nineteenth century, I have used Eħia Tntesean's essays on

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<sup>107</sup> Detailed references for all of the literature mentioned in this and the following paragraph can be found in the relevant chapters.

<sup>108</sup> Hisarlean 1914; Angeleay 1903.

<sup>109</sup> For useful annotated bibliographies of the main textual sources for Ottoman music, see Oransay 1964, 27–37; Popescu-Judetzu 2007 and İhsanoğlu et al 2003.

music published in 1874, as well as notation tutors and music-related articles in the Turkish-language press.

The thesis is divided into two parts. Part One, ‘The Invention of Hampartsum Notation’, consists of four chapters and focuses on the historical, cultural and musical contexts in which the notation system emerged in ca. 1812. Chapter One discusses the situation of the Armenian community of Istanbul at the beginning of the nineteenth century, focusing in particular on the Tiwzean family, who provided material, practical and ideological support for the notational reform. Chapter Two presents biographical information about the other individuals involved in the early development of the notation system, Minas Bžškean and Hambarjum Limōnčean, as well as a discussion of the ideological basis of the reform in relation to other aspects of the Mxit‘arist revival. Chapter Three traces connections between Bžškean’s treatise on music and contemporaneous European sources, and discusses musical and intellectual interactions with the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul. Chapter Four situates Hampartsum notation in relation to earlier systems of notation in Ottoman music, and thus provides a bridge to the second part of the thesis.

Part Two, ‘The Adoption of Hampartsum Notation’, begins with a discussion of the role of non-Muslims in the musical life of the Ottoman capital, and considers the factors leading to the adoption of Hampartsum notation by Muslim musicians in the mid-nineteenth century (Chapter Five). Chapter Six provides an overview of all available manuscript collections written in Hampartsum notation, analysing them according to date, authorship and musical content. On this basis, I discuss correlations between scribal identity and musical practice, and offer a new interpretation of the role of notation in Ottoman music during the nineteenth century. In Chapter Seven, I build on this philological and statistical data by discussing musical debates in Turkish and Armenian during the final decades of the empire, showing how attitudes towards notation were shaped by larger political and social factors. Finally, the conclusion provides a brief summary of the thesis and suggests directions for future research.



# **PART ONE**

## **THE INVENTION OF HAMPARTSUM NOTATION**



# 1. Between Pera and Venice

During the late Ottoman period, Istanbul represented the largest and most important centre of the Armenian diaspora, and was a major node on the global trade networks of Armenian merchants connecting Europe and Asia.<sup>1</sup> As well as engaging in trade, Armenians were employed by the Ottoman state as artisans, bankers, translators and in other skilled professions, and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Armenian notables constituted an informal but important sub-class of the Ottoman elite. Armenians in Istanbul thus existed within a complex network of allegiances and relationships to several different political and cultural spheres: on the one hand they were closely involved with local institutions such as the Ottoman state, the Armenian patriarchate and the other *millets*, while on the other they were active in non-local spheres such as transimperial trade or the publishing and educational endeavours of the Mxit'arists. This was particularly true of the economic elites of the Armenian community, known as *amiras*, who used their non-local connections and specialised technical knowledge to amass wealth and influence while serving the Ottoman state. At the same time, they used this position to assert their power over the Armenian community, most importantly through their patronage activities.

The *amira* class, like the Armenian population as a whole, included both Orthodox Armenians and a minority of families who had converted to Catholicism. The foremost Catholic Armenian family of the Ottoman Empire, the Tiwzeans or Düzoğulları, were important patrons of learning and culture both in Istanbul and in the wider Armenian diaspora, and were instrumental in the development of Hampartsum notation in the early nineteenth century. The Tiwzeans patronised a number of Mxit'arist scholars including Minas Bžškean, as well as the Ottoman Armenian musician Hambarjum Limōnčean, both key figures in the invention of the new notation system. Through their patronage, the family contributed to intellectual developments – founding schools, journals and learned societies – as well as new cultural forms, including the first modern plays performed in Turkish in the Ottoman Empire. Yet while the

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<sup>1</sup> The majority of the Armenian population lived in the eastern provinces of the empire, and in the larger geographic region of the Armenian plateau. Since the latter was under Ottoman, Persian or Russian rule before the formation of a modern state, the Armenians residing in this region have been described as an 'intra-state diaspora' (Tölölyan 1991, 170 [cited in Aslanian 2004, 10]). I use the term diaspora mainly to refer to the Armenian communities of Istanbul, Venice and Vienna, though there were also important diasporic centres in other parts of Europe, the Middle East and South Asia. For detailed discussion of the concept of diaspora and its role in Armenian history and historiography, see Tölölyan 2000, idem 1999 and Aslanian 2004, 9–26.



Tiwzeans had close ties with San Lazzaro and Europe, they were also fully integrated into local social structures in Istanbul and assimilated to Ottoman cultural practices, demonstrated by their involvement in Ottoman music not only as patrons, but also as performers and composers.

The history of the Tiwzean family thus provides an example of the way in which the ‘Armenian Renaissance’ was not an abstract intellectual or cultural formation, but was brought into being by local actors with a range of motives and loyalties. From their position as quasi-official Ottoman elites at ‘the edge of the centre’, to use Christine Philliou’s phrase<sup>2</sup>, the Tiwzeans used their economic and social capital to support an intellectual awakening that had both local impact in Istanbul and a global dimension that extended to Venice and other centres of the Armenian diaspora. Mapped onto the Tiwzeans’ financial power and geographical mobility was their confessional status as Catholics, which placed them at the heart of ideological and political struggles with profound implications for the later history of the Ottoman Empire.

The Tiwzeans thus belonged to multiple, overlapping worlds. Such multiplicity is partly reflective of the situation of the Armenian diaspora, but also of the dynamic and cosmopolitan atmosphere of Ottoman Istanbul during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The chapter begins, then, by situating the Tiwzean family within the context of broader transformations of the urban environment of the imperial capital, focusing in particular on changes in social geography, cultural practices and the position of non-Muslims within Ottoman society. As the following chapters will show, the interaction of such processes with global intellectual currents – most notably the combination of cultural nationalism and Enlightenment thought that characterised the Mxit‘arist revival – provided fertile conditions for the emergence of new musical practices, and in particular for the invention of Hampartsum notation.

### **1.1. Ottoman Istanbul, ca. 1750–1850**

Istanbul, as both port city and imperial centre, had developed into a metropolis by the early nineteenth century, with a population of around 360,000.<sup>3</sup> In 1829, the male population of greater Istanbul comprised approximately 97,000 Muslims compared to 115,000 non-Muslims, who – in contrast to the empire as a whole – remained in the majority until the influx of Muslim

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<sup>2</sup> Philliou 2011, xvii.

<sup>3</sup> Karpas 1985, 103. Findley (2010, 62) gives the figure of 375,000 for the 1830s. Cf. Başaran 2014, 56–62. On the particular dual character of Istanbul as both port city and imperial capital, see Eldem 1999a.

refugees from former Ottoman territories in the 1880s.<sup>4</sup> Greater Istanbul was made up of the walled old city (containing the seat of imperial power and referred to as ‘Der saadet’ or ‘Asitane’) and the three towns (*bilad-ı selase*) or outer districts of Eyüb (north-west of the walled city), Galata (north of the Golden Horn), and Üsküdar (on the Asian side of the Bosphorus). Both administratively and socially, the city was organised into smaller neighbourhoods (*mahalle*) whose residents typically shared a common religion or hailed from the same region. While the *mahalle* was an important means of regulating social conduct and discouraged mixing between different confessional groups, such boundaries were less strictly observed in commercial or port areas of the city, most importantly in the former Genoese trading post of Galata, and became increasingly fluid during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>5</sup>

Distinctions between different social groups were also maintained by sumptuary laws codified during the early Ottoman period, which underlined the superiority of ‘men over women, Muslims over non-Muslims, and elites over subject classes.’<sup>6</sup> Non-Muslims, for example, could not build houses higher than those of their Muslim neighbours, ride horses, wear yellow slippers or carry arms.<sup>7</sup> Further distinctions were manifested through the regulation of headgear, which rendered visible the social or official rank and religion of the wearer. During the eighteenth century, however, changing consumption patterns due to increased international trade – not only with Europe but also with Iran and India – led to the blurring of such boundaries, as members of the middling bureaucratic and merchant classes accumulated wealth and sought to emulate their social superiors.

The repeated promulgation of clothing regulations from the mid-eighteenth century onwards indicates that the state aimed to counter the challenge of these new elites and the breakdown of social conventions in Istanbul. As Madeline Zilfi writes, a series of urban social laws issued between the 1750s and 1830s reflects a ‘palpable anxiety about the European provenance of goods and fashions’ and indicates the discomfort of the ruling classes with regards to ‘popular consumption, public display, and subject people’s mobility, especially on

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<sup>4</sup> Karpas 1985, 86. The exact figures from the 1829/30 census (reproduced in *ibid*, 202) are: Muslims, 87,231; special groups (probably Muslim), 9,846; non-Muslims, 115,206. Amongst the non-Muslim population we find the following categories: Greeks, 49,323; Armenians, 48,866; Jews, 12,032; Catholics: 4,985.

<sup>5</sup> Eldem 1999a, 152–8; Behar 2003. On the neighbourhood as a means of social control, see Wishnitzer 2014, 516–8.

<sup>6</sup> Quataert 1997, 407.

<sup>7</sup> Hanioglu 2008, 28–9; Göçek 1996, 39.

the part of women and non-Muslim men.’<sup>8</sup> The much-discussed political decentralisation of the period, then, was paralleled by a transformation of Ottoman urban society and culture, in which new economic configurations led to increased social mobility for marginalised groups, and to increased interaction and borrowing of cultural forms both amongst Ottoman elites and with the non-Ottoman world.

This interaction also manifested itself in new architectural trends, and in the changing uses of public space. In terms of the redrawing of social geography of Istanbul, there were two important internal population movements: the first was the construction of villas on the shores of the Bosphorus, which was linked to a desire on the part of newly prosperous elites to display their wealth and represented a shift away from the traditional centre of power in the walled old city. Secondly, the ‘vineyards of Pera’ above Galata, which had hitherto consisted predominantly of the residences of European diplomats, began to be populated by local non-Muslim communities.<sup>9</sup> In connection with the emergence of new architectural styles and changes in Istanbul’s social geography, a culture of leisure and public display flourished in the gardens and waterfront palaces of the city, as the ruling class attempted to reassert itself in response to the emergence of new sources of patronage and the erosion of traditional boundaries different social classes and confessional groups.<sup>10</sup>

Local non-Muslims had acted as intermediaries between the Ottoman government and European traders or ambassadors since the fifteenth century due to their religious status and their knowledge of European languages.<sup>11</sup> With the increase in international trade in the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, non-Muslims benefited from their contacts with European merchants and diplomats and cultivated profitable trade networks between the empire and the world economy. The tax capitulations that historically had been granted to foreign traders now began to be utilised by local non-Muslims, who obtained economic privileges through their attachment to European embassies as translators, effectively becoming foreign subjects.<sup>12</sup> This process is associated in Turkish nationalist historiography

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<sup>8</sup> Zilfi 2010, 58. These measures culminated in the law of 1829, which attempted to reassert the authority of the centre by enforcing the adoption of standard headgear (the *fes*) for all civilians (Quataert 1997).

<sup>9</sup> Eldem 1999a, 202–3; Çelik 1993, 30. See Eldem 2006 for a critical appraisal of the historiography of these districts.

<sup>10</sup> On architectural developments, see Hamadeh 2004. On gardens and public sociability in Istanbul, see idem 2008, 2007a, 2007b. On the political uses of elite leisure activities, see Wishnitzer 2014.

<sup>11</sup> Meral 2013; Şakiroğlu 2011; Mantran 1982. The office of Grand Dragoman (translator to the court), who was ‘the most important official after the chief scribe in the conduct of foreign affairs’, was dominated by Phanariot Greeks until the creation of the Translation Office in 1821 (Findley 1980, 78). See Philliou 2009; Pippidi 1980, 341–50 and Runciman 1968, 360–84 for the historical background of the Phanariot class.

<sup>12</sup> Kasaba 1988, 28–32.

with the secessionist movements, encouraged by western imperialism, which led to the break-up of the Ottoman Empire; non-Muslims are therefore sometimes portrayed as ‘collaborators’.<sup>13</sup> However, as several scholars have noted, it was in fact in the interests of non-Muslim elites, especially those close to the centre of power in Istanbul, to maintain the integrity of the empire, and economic concerns or loyalty to the state on the part of Ottoman bureaucrats frequently cut across confessional boundaries.<sup>14</sup>

At the same time, although non-Muslims were able to become economically successful and were an increasingly important part of the Ottoman bureaucracy, they were deprived of direct access to political power. The structure of Ottoman law and social customs also meant that non-Muslims were systematically disadvantaged and reminded of their inferior status. Despite what Karen Barkey and others have noted as a comparative lack of intercommunal strife before the late nineteenth century, discrimination against non-Muslims manifested itself not only in clothing laws or in day-to-day interactions, but also in more overtly violent forms, such as humiliating public executions, seizure of wealth, exile or the collective punishment of non-Muslim communities for the offences of their coreligionists.<sup>15</sup> As Edhem Eldem argues, it was this insecurity and the absence of a political means of safeguarding their economic and social interests within the existing Ottoman system – as much as religious identification, political ideology or European imperial ambitions – that led many non-Muslims to seek the protection of foreign powers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>16</sup>

The so-called *millet* system gave Christians and Jews a high degree of autonomy with regards to internal social organisation, for example in matters of marriage, worship or education.<sup>17</sup> This factor, combined with the freedom with which they were able to associate with Europeans and their involvement in international trade, contributed to the emergence of cultural institutions that interacted with contemporary developments in Europe. Non-Muslims studied in the missionary schools that were established in the empire from the sixteenth century

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<sup>13</sup> The links between economic success amongst non-Muslims and the growth of intercommunal violence are discussed in Barkey 2008, 277–89 and Göçek 1996, 87–116.

<sup>14</sup> Kasaba, 1988, 31; Davison 1980, 326–7. On the loyalty of Ottoman Greek statesmen such as Stephanos Vogoridēs (1780–1859), see Philliou 2011. See Krikorian 1978 and Çarkçıyan 2016 for discussions of Armenian officials in the service of the Ottoman Empire during the late nineteenth century.

<sup>15</sup> Barkey 2008, 146–50. See Eldem 1999a, 170 on the special mode of decapitation (in which the corpse was displayed with the head placed between the buttocks) reserved for non-Muslims. The brutal collective punishment of the Greek community of Istanbul after the Greek uprising of 1821 is detailed in Philliou 2011, 67–74.

<sup>16</sup> Eldem 1999a, 194–5.

<sup>17</sup> For historical overviews of the confessional organisation of Ottoman society, see Ursinus 2012 and Barkey 2008, 109–53.

onwards, or travelled to Italy or France to be trained either as translators in the service of European embassies, or independently in subjects such as medicine or law.<sup>18</sup> Greek Orthodox schools of higher learning, which taught languages, science and mathematics as well as theology, were established throughout south-eastern Europe and in Istanbul with the wealth of Phanariot merchants and dignitaries.<sup>19</sup> The founding of printing presses by the Jewish (ca. 1500), Armenian (1567) and Greek Orthodox (1627) communities of Istanbul also contributed to an awareness of cultural and intellectual developments beyond the empire, at least amongst the educated non-Muslim classes.<sup>20</sup>

As Nile Green has argued, the European provenance of modern print technology and the linguistic skills and cultural sympathies involved in its transfer meant that early printing in the Middle East was necessarily a transcultural affair; as he points out, even the first Muslim-owned press in Istanbul was set up by a convert of Hungarian origin, İbrahim Müteferrika (d. 1745).<sup>21</sup> Yet by the same token, the impact of printing in the Ottoman Empire was not restricted to the hermetically sealed confines of the non-Muslim *millets*: Christian and Jewish presses produced books not only in communal languages but also in Turkish, while non-Muslim intellectuals were often well integrated into the semi-formal administrative structures that characterised the Sublime Porte's approach to internal and foreign relations.

Hence, Phanariot dragomans such as İakōvos Argyropoulos (1776–1850) published translations into Ottoman Turkish of European works on geography, history and literature, as well as grammars and dictionaries of Turkish.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, the Catholic Armenian Hovsep Vardanean (Tr. Vartan Paşa, 1813–79), chief translator for the Ottoman navy, wrote a number of works in Turkish, including novels, translations of French fiction, a six-volume biography of Napoleon Bonaparte (published in both Armenian and Arabic scripts), and a history of the Crimean War.<sup>23</sup> During the second half of the nineteenth century, Muslims and non-Muslims participated together in learned societies (such as the *Encümen-i danış*, established in 1851)<sup>24</sup>,

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<sup>18</sup> Bilim 1998, 273–81; Tietze 1991, 390–1; Göçek, 1993, 522–5; Küçük 2013, 143 ff. For a survey of non-Muslim and foreign educational institutions in the Ottoman Empire, see Ergin 1939–41, II, 602–73. See also Somel 2005.

<sup>19</sup> Nicolaidis 2016; Kitromilides 2010a; Camariano-Cioran 1974.

<sup>20</sup> Kut 2012. See also the essays in Roper 2013.

<sup>21</sup> Green 2009, 204. There is a large literature surrounding Müteferrika's press and its significance for the broader history of printing in the Islamic world. For recent appraisals and further bibliography, see Sabev 2014; Erginbaş 2014.

<sup>22</sup> Strauss 1995a, 196–203 and *passim*; idem 1999a, 2003b.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 211; idem 2003, 41, 53–4; Cankara 2014a, 55–6, 70. Vardanean was also the editor of several Armeno-Turkish periodicals: see Mignon 2011, 114–5 and Pamukciyan 2002–2003, IV, 373–4.

<sup>24</sup> Strauss 1995a, 212–5; Meral 2013, 131–3.

institutions of higher education (e.g. the Mekteb-i sultani, founded in 1868)<sup>25</sup>, artistic and architectural projects (such as the Ottoman contributions to the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna)<sup>26</sup>, and numerous printing and publishing ventures.

It is important to stress, then, that intellectual and cultural activities amongst the non-Muslim communities of Istanbul did not occur in isolation from their local context, and should not be regarded either as ahistorical expressions of particular ethno-national characteristics, or simply as consequences of western influence. Schools, printing presses and learned societies were supported by the transimperial trade activities of non-Muslim elites and their cultural connections with Europe, but also by the economic and social capital that they acquired through their integration into local structures of authority and their role as intermediaries between the Porte and their coreligionists. It might, therefore, be more appropriate to see these developments not in terms of bounded ethno-religious communities, but in the context of an elite cosmopolitan milieu that was defined by involvement in overlapping and mutually beneficial power networks rather than by ethno-religious identity.

As non-Muslims came increasingly to participate in such networks, new sources of patronage emerged that provided opportunities for cultural and intellectual developments in fields such as printing, education, architecture and, as we shall see, music. The cultural products that resulted from the ascendancy of non-Muslim elites, such as the Armeno-Turkish novel or, as I will argue, Hampartsum notation, reflect interactions between different confessional groups and the shifting social boundaries of late Ottoman Istanbul. At the same time, they signify a changing relationship between the empire and the world around it, facilitated partly by the connections of Ottoman Christians and Jews with diasporic centres in Europe. By studying the case of the Armenian *amiras*, the following section explores in more detail the role of non-Muslim elites in the social and cultural life of the Ottoman capital during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the ways in which this interacted with both local and transimperial developments.

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<sup>25</sup> Somel 2001, 52–3. See also Chambers 1968 on a precursor to this school (the Mekteb-i osmani) established in Paris in 1857.

<sup>26</sup> Ersoy 2007, 2003.

## 1.2. The Rise of the *amiras* and the Armenian Catholics

An Armenian community has existed in Istanbul since the Byzantine period; indeed, several Byzantine emperors were of Armenian origin.<sup>27</sup> With the Ottoman conquest in the fifteenth century, Armenians from the eastern provinces were encouraged or forced to migrate to Istanbul in order to repopulate the new imperial capital. Although the Armenian population was initially far smaller than the Orthodox Greek community, continuous migration meant that by the early nineteenth century it constituted around a quarter of the city's total population.<sup>28</sup> Under Ottoman rule, the patriarch of Istanbul was de facto head of the Orthodox Armenian Church, and the official representative to the Porte of the entire Armenian population of the empire. Beginning in the seventeenth century, however, a class of Armenian notables whose wealth and influence rivalled that of the Church emerged in the eastern provinces. During the following century, the *amiras* (< Ar. *āmīr*, 'prince', 'commander') consolidated their position in the imperial capital, acting as leaders and benefactors of the Armenian community, influencing the policies of the patriarchate, and cultivating ties with the Muslim ruling class.<sup>29</sup> In the period from around 1750 to 1850, the *amiras* represented the most powerful and influential section of Ottoman Armenian society, and at the same time constituted an important part of the Ottoman para-state apparatus.

The *amiras* of Istanbul assumed a dual role in the empire, on the one hand as servants of the Ottoman state, and on the other as leaders and representatives of the Armenian community.<sup>30</sup> Members of the *amira* class performed important functions for the palace, usually dependent upon their access to capital and involving technical expertise. In many cases, these positions – as bankers, manufacturers, architects or diplomats – remained in the hands of a single Armenian family over several generations.<sup>31</sup> Despite the fact that (before the Tanzimat reforms) the *amiras* could not hold political office, their elevated status was displayed through various privileges, such as the right to wear sable fur (in addition to their characteristic tall black headgear, known as a *kalpak*) or to ride horses, not usually granted to non-Muslims.<sup>32</sup> They also maintained their

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<sup>27</sup> For historical overviews of the Armenian community of Istanbul, see Suny 2015, 43–50; Hovannisian and Payaslian 2010 and Bardakjian 1982. For the nineteenth century in particular, see Ter Minassian 2005; Kasbarian-Bricout 1981; Adjarian 1980; Dadian 1867. On the role of Armenians in the Byzantine imperial hierarchy, see Adontz 1965.

<sup>28</sup> Karpat 1985, 202.

<sup>29</sup> During the seventeenth century, *amiras* were known by the title of *hoca* or *çelebi* (Barsoumian 2013, 39–58).

<sup>30</sup> Barsoumian 1982, 1979.

<sup>31</sup> On the Tatean (Tr. Dadyan) family, see Ter Minassian 1992; on the Paleans (Tr. Balyan), see Wharton 2015 and Tuğlacı 1990. See also Carmont 2012.

<sup>32</sup> Barsoumian 2013, 66–7.

class identity through intermarriage, while their affluence enabled them to enjoy luxurious lifestyles, living in large houses where they supported extended households of servants and other dependants.<sup>33</sup>

The *amiras* used their riches and connections with the state to exert influence on the Armenian community, especially through the establishment of charitable or religious institutions such as hospitals, orphanages, schools, churches or printing presses.<sup>34</sup> As well as promoting an image of piety and benevolence amongst the Armenian populace, such patronage activities undermined the power of the patriarchate, contributing to a gradual process of secularisation throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>35</sup> The ascendancy of the *amiras* – and, in broader terms, the changing status of non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire – is demonstrated by the increase in the number of churches built in Istanbul with the wealth of Armenian notables between 1750 and 1850, and by the rich material culture enabled by their donations.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, the establishment of hospitals or schools was a physical manifestation of the growing confidence of Armenian elites, which also served to strengthen their position as leaders of the Armenian *millet*. Around forty Armenian schools were established in Istanbul between 1790 and 1815, the majority of them, as Sarafian writes, ‘under the financial and moral patronage’ of the *amiras*.<sup>37</sup>

Supporting the publication of books and other reading materials provided further opportunities for the *amiras* to wield influence over the Armenian population and to counteract the power of the patriarchate. In this, however, they were motivated not simply by a desire for personal gain, but also by a genuine belief in the importance of literacy and education for the progress of the Armenian people, an attitude that is discussed in greater detail below with reference to the educational activities of the Tiwzean family. As well as establishing local schools, in the eighteenth century *amira* families began sending their children to be educated in France or Italy, and by the middle of the nineteenth century a significant number of Armenian youths were educated in Europe. This initially provided technical and linguistic expertise that

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<sup>33</sup> See Ter Minassian 1992, 5–8 and Barsoumian 2013, 69–70 for details of marriage practices amongst the *amiras*. The novel *Agapi Hik' eayēsi*, first published in 1851, offers a rich portrait of the material life of both the *amiras* and the artisanal classes in Istanbul in the first half of the nineteenth century (Vartan Paşa 1991). Further descriptions of the lifestyle of wealthy Ottoman Armenians, including contemporary paintings (and later, photographs) of famous *amiras* in all their finery, can be found in family histories such as Damad 1916 and Carmont 2012.

<sup>34</sup> Barsoumian 2013, 123–73.

<sup>35</sup> Zekiyan 1997a, 341–50.

<sup>36</sup> Marchese and Breu 2010. See Sakisian 1940, 87–95 (including plates) for fine examples of work by Ottoman Armenian goldsmiths in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

<sup>37</sup> Sarafian 1930, 201; Oshagan 1983, 58. See also Arpee 1909, 21–2 and Barsoumian 2013, 125–8.



was also beneficial for the Ottoman state; over time, it produced a professional class of engineers, doctors, lawyers and teachers who were closely engaged with political and intellectual developments in Europe.<sup>38</sup>

After the Crimean War, the financial power of the *amiras* declined as European banks became more entrenched in the Ottoman economy, while the leadership of the Armenian community shifted away from the patriarchate and the *amiras* and towards the western-educated intelligentsia, a process consolidated by the enactment of an Armenian ‘code of regulations’ (*nizamname*, sometimes referred to as a ‘constitution’) in 1863.<sup>39</sup> However, this process itself was largely a result of developments in economic, political and cultural spheres that were initiated and supported by the *amiras*.

Although literature on the *amiras* usually treats them as a homogeneous group, there were significant internal divisions, which were related to wealth, education and closeness to Europe, and thus had consequences for the outcomes of cultural patronage. The most important of these divisions, which was relevant for the entire Armenian *millet*, was between the majority of Orthodox Armenian *amiras*, and a small minority of Catholics. Ottoman Armenians began to convert to Catholicism in the seventeenth century, often motivated by the education offered by the Capuchins or Jesuits.<sup>40</sup> By the late eighteenth century, the number of Catholic Armenians in Istanbul was estimated to be as many as 20,000, far larger than the resident European or Levantine population.<sup>41</sup>

However, Catholics still constituted a minority – perhaps ten percent – within the wider Armenian community, and were not recognised as a distinct *millet* by the Sublime Porte until

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<sup>38</sup> Oshagan 2004, 151–2; idem 1983, 57–8; Ter Minassian 1992, 9; Etmekjian 1979, 303–4.

<sup>39</sup> Barsoumian 1979, 312. On the various social factions and intellectual currents that contributed to the emergence of the so-called Armenian constitution, see Libaridian 1983 and Artinian [1988] (translated into Turkish as Artinian 2004).

<sup>40</sup> Frazee 1983, 178. For overviews of the history of the Catholic Armenians of the Ottoman Empire, see *ibid*, 178–189, 256–74 and Beydilli 1995, 1–36.

<sup>41</sup> ‘In 1783 Archbishop Frachia reported to Rome that there were now twenty thousand Catholic Armenians in Istanbul and that, since they far outnumbered all other Catholic communities in the capital, they were his major concern’ (Frazee 1983, 185). The number of Catholic Armenians was estimated to be 14,000 in 1769 (Girardelli 2005, 251), while Šedivý states that the population was ‘over 20,000’ in 1828 (Šedivý 2012, 52). Even allowing for exaggeration in these figures, the population seems to have fallen in the early nineteenth century, probably in line with a general decrease in population in Istanbul (Karpas 1985, 103; Başaran 2014, 56–62). According to the 1830 census, which records male population only, ‘Catholics’ – which typically designated Armenian Catholics rather than Europeans or Levantines, who were referred to as ‘Franks’ or ‘Latins’ (Frazee, 1983, 178) – make up 4,985 persons, while the figure for ‘Armenians’ (i.e. Orthodox Armenians) is 48,866 (Karpas 1985, 202). Catholic Armenians thus constituted around ten per cent of the total Armenian population of Istanbul. Cf. Pascal Carmont, who gives the same estimate for the Ottoman Empire as a whole, though without providing a source (Carmont 2012, 43). On the ‘Levantines’ of the Ottoman Empire, see Tagliaferri 2016; Yılmaz 2011; Schmitt 2007; Yumul and Dikkaya 2006.

1831. Catholic Armenians therefore occupied an ambiguous position: they were nominally under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Armenian patriarch (who, understandably, did not look favourably on converts), but at the same time were tied both to Rome and to European states (primarily France but later also Austria) who took an active interest in the situation of Catholics in the Ottoman Empire. This state of affairs meant that Catholic Armenians were often at the centre of religious and diplomatic controversies, but it also allowed them to take advantage of their intermediary position between Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

The Catholic Armenian Mouradgea D'Ohsson (1740–1807) is known for his multi-volume description of the Ottoman Empire, published in Paris between 1787 and 1820.<sup>42</sup> D'Ohsson was born in Pera and inherited his father's post as translator at the Swedish Embassy, which automatically made him a Swedish subject. As 'an exotic denizen of the eighteenth-century republic of letters', D'Ohsson was feted in European circles and, in his diplomatic role, often aligned himself with French or Swedish interests.<sup>43</sup> At the same time, however, he consistently defended the Ottoman Empire (and Islamic civilisation) against its European detractors, and made a number of contributions to the cause of Ottoman reform under Selim III.<sup>44</sup> Such flexible positioning is not easily explained by nationalistic categorisations that label figures such as D'Ohsson as 'foreign', a description that reflects later distrust of non-Muslims.<sup>45</sup>

Nonetheless, Catholic Armenians had closer relations with European residents in Istanbul than their Orthodox brethren, partly due to the fact that the patriarchate obstructed them from using Armenian churches or participating in religious rites.<sup>46</sup> Thus, as well as having contacts with European visitors or Levantines through their roles as translators and traders, Catholic Armenians lived in the same districts and worshipped in the same churches as these groups. Indeed, Paolo Girardelli has shown that the Catholic churches of Istanbul were intended primarily for the use of Catholic Armenians, whose relocation to the traditionally European districts of Galata and Pera during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was a

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<sup>42</sup> Mouradgea D'Ohsson is a Gallicisation of the Ottoman–Armenian name Muradcan Tosunyan. See Fraser 2010; Findley 1998a; Beydilli 1983–4.

<sup>43</sup> Findley 1998a, 35. D'Ohsson also visited San Lazzaro, where he consulted the Mxit'arist scholars Mik'ayel Č'amč'ean and Ługas Inčičean, in the period when he wrote the *Tableau* during his stay in Europe (1784–92) (Beydilli 1983–4, 256).

<sup>44</sup> The Ottoman ambassador to Vienna, Ebu Bekir Ratib Efendi, wrote to Selim III that 'he [D'Ohsson] is so zealous for the Sublime State that if I say [he is] more so than we [are], I would not be speaking falsely' (in Findley 1998a, 26).

<sup>45</sup> Stanford Shaw, for example, describes D'Ohsson's role in the reform proposals put forward to Selim III as that of 'foreign adviser' (Shaw 1971, 93), while elsewhere he is labelled a 'foreign sympathizer' (ibid, 196).

<sup>46</sup> Beydilli 1995, 2–3.

significant factor in the transformation of the urban fabric of the area, for example in the transition to masonry buildings.<sup>47</sup>

Hovsep Vardanean's novel *Agapi Hik'eayēsi* (1851) illustrates the divisions within the Armenian community in the first half of the nineteenth century by describing the social boundaries and prejudices that prevented marriage between Armenian youths of different confessions. As a number of scholars have shown, the novel thematises differences between Orthodox and Catholic Armenians, the latter regarding themselves as superior on the basis of their wealth, education and closer relations with Europe – a trope which is exploited by Vardanean to comic effect and, as Laurent Mignon and others have pointed out, foreshadows later Tanzimat literature.<sup>48</sup> A painting by Jean Baptiste van Mour, entitled *Société arménienne jouant aux cartes* (ca. 1720–37), further conveys the atmosphere of Catholic Armenian high society in Ottoman Istanbul, which would have overlapped, to some extent, with the Levantine circles to which van Mour belonged.<sup>49</sup> Dressed luxuriously (and in the case of the women, surprisingly revealingly), male and female figures sit in close proximity, playing cards around a brazier-heated low table (*tandır*) – a practice that, judging by Vartan Paşa's fictionalised descriptions, was still a popular pastime and means of courtship amongst Catholic Armenian elites in the 1840s.<sup>50</sup>

The success of the *amiras* in manoeuvring between the Ottoman state, the patriarchate, the Armenian community and Europe led to significant changes in material culture, social practices and intellectual outlook in the period between 1750 and 1850, which affected not only the Armenian population but also Ottoman society more broadly. While previous literature has focused on intellectual, economic and social developments, and limited attention has been given to artistic and architectural evidence, there has been no discussion of the relation between the rise of the *amiras* and changes in musical practices. Yet as I will demonstrate below, the patronage of the *amiras* was a key factor in the invention of Hampartsum notation and in the social and intellectual influences that shaped its development.

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<sup>47</sup> Girardelli 2005, 2016. See also idem 2010.

<sup>48</sup> Vartan Paşa 1991 (see Tietze's commentary at ibid, xii–xiii). For further discussion, see Mignon 2002; Cankara 2014a; and Sagaster 2011.

<sup>49</sup> Carmont argues that the subjects in *Société arménienne jouant aux cartes* are Catholic mainly on the basis of their dress (Carmont 2012, 55–6). Cf. Sakisian 1940, 127–9. The painting, which is now in the Rijksmuseum, is reproduced at ibid, pl. XLIV and Dadyan 2011b, 459 ff. Jean Baptiste van Mour (1671–1737) is better known for his tableaux of contemporary Ottoman society, commissioned by the French ambassador Charles de Ferriol and published in Paris in 1714 (see Le Hay 1714).

<sup>50</sup> See e.g. Vartan Paşa 1991, 7–11.

The ascendancy of the *amiras* in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries afforded material resources – including financial patronage as well as the communal institutions and private households that provided the social and physical context for such activities – to support musical activities amongst Ottoman Armenians. In addition, the growing power of Armenian elites gave them the confidence to invest in new cultural practices that would contribute to the national self-awareness of the Armenian community. Yet at the same time, the close ties of the *amiras* with the Muslim ruling class and their diasporic connections to trade networks beyond the empire meant that such practices were entangled with both local and transimperial developments. At the centre of these developments was the most powerful Catholic Armenian family of Istanbul: the Tiwzeans.

### 1.3. ‘The Richest and Most Favoured Rayahs of the Sultan’<sup>51</sup>: The Tiwzean Family

Like many other *amira* families, the Tiwzeans (Tr. Düzyan, Düzoğlu) originally came from the region east of Sivas in central Anatolia, immigrating to Istanbul at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>52</sup> The earliest identifiable family member, a certain Yarut‘iwn, is said to have been appointed to the post of ‘Royal Goldsmith’ (*arguni oskerič‘*) after opening a jewellery shop in Yenikapı.<sup>53</sup> Yarut‘iwn’s son Sergis (d. 1721), who was given the epithet ‘Düz’ (Tr. ‘straight’; ‘upright’) on account of his handsome physique (or, according to another version, because of his honesty), inherited the same post, followed by his own son Yovhannēs (d. 1744).

In 1758, Yovhannēs’ son Hoca Mik‘ayēl (1724–83) took over the management of the imperial mint (*darbhane-i amire*) from the Jewish incumbent. The *darbhane* remained in the

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<sup>51</sup> The phrase is from MacFarlane 1829, II, 144 (‘rayah’ [Tr. *reaya*] signifies here a non-Muslim subject of the Ottoman sultan).

<sup>52</sup> The first biography of the Tiwzean family, upon which most later accounts are based, was published in Armenian in the late nineteenth century (Mēnēviṣean 1890; the essay was published in serial form in the same year in the journal *Hamdēs Amsōreay*). For more recent treatments, see Çarkçıyan 2016, 69–79; Carmont 2012, 105–12 and Dadyan 2011b, 167–81. According to Mēnēviṣean, the Tiwzeans originally came from the town of Tewrik (Tr. Divriği) (Mēnēviṣean 1890, 6). Dadyan suggests that the Tiwzeans may have come to Tewrik from Persia (Dadyan 2011b, 167), while the orientalist Eugène Boré claims, rather improbably, that the family were of German origin and changed their name to ‘Düzoğlu’ after settling in Istanbul (Boré 1838, 56). On the regional provenance of *amira* families, see Barsoumian 2013, 70–74. The Turkish patronymic suffix ‘-oğlu’ (or Persian ‘-zade’) was adopted by elite non-Muslim families who wished to demonstrate their ‘noble’ lineage (Philliou 2011, 29).

<sup>53</sup> Mēnēviṣean 1890, 6. The *kuyumcubaşı* (Head Goldsmith/Jeweller), who during the later Ottoman period was usually Armenian, supplied the Ottoman court with jewellery and other precious metalwork; at the same time, he engaged in commerce outside the palace (Pakalın 1971, II, 334).

hands of the Tiwzeans, who employed Armenian staff and kept records in Armenian script, until 1880 (excepting a fifteen-year period from 1819–34).<sup>54</sup> Hoca Mik‘ayēl’s son Yovhannēs Çelebi (1749–1812) supervised the mint after his father’s death.<sup>55</sup> Although the Tiwzeans’ main occupation was the supervision of the *darbhane*, they also used their capital in other areas such as banking and trade; Yovhannēs was thus granted a monopoly on customs dues from the Istanbul silk trade in 1802. During the coup d’état of 1807 in which Selim III was deposed, Yovhannēs was one of four prominent non-Muslims whose token execution was unsuccessfully demanded by the rebels.<sup>56</sup>

Following Yovhannēs’ death, the mint was taken over by his sons Sergis Çelebi (1777–1819) and Grigor Çelebi (1774–1819). Sergis and Grigor are reported to have been less conscientious than their predecessors in the execution of their official duties, and to have had a penchant for luxury.<sup>57</sup> They were favoured by Mahmud II, to the extent that they were permitted to wear yellow slippers (usually reserved for Muslims), and built a new summer palace in Yeniköy on the Bosphorus, apparently with the financial assistance of the sultan.<sup>58</sup> Sergis had his portrait painted – showing a distinguished and luxuriously dressed figure smoking a

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<sup>54</sup> Although the Tiwzeans are often described as ‘directors’ of the imperial mint (e.g. Dadyan 2011b, 175; Carmont 2012, 105), the highest position (*emanet*) was in fact held by a Muslim functionary (Pakalın 1971, I, 396–7). According to the court chronicler Ataullah Efendi, the Director of the Imperial Mint (*darbhane-i amire emini*) in 1819, for example, was Abdurrahman Feyzi Bey (succeeded by Seyyid Mehmed Hayrullah Efendi), while a member of the Tiwzean family (presumably Sergis or Grigor) is referred to as ‘Goldsmith of the Mint’ (*darbhane kuyumcusu*), indicating a technical rather than official role (Şânî-zâde Mehmed ‘Atâ’ullah Efendi 2008, II, 933–5). In Boré’s description, the Tiwzeans, ‘bien qu’occupant dans la réalité la charge importante de directeurs de la Monnaie, étaient représentés par un Turc, espèce de fonctionnaire fictif, au nom duquel se dressaient tous les actes.’ (Boré 1838, 58). Jamgocyian describes the Tiwzeans both as proprietors of the mint, and as bankers to the sultan (Jamgocyian [2013], 283, 286). The *darbhane* building was located within the Topkapı Palace complex (İnciçyan 1976, 29; Can 1993–5). A description of its working methods is given by an American resident of Istanbul who visited the mint, in a letter dated 14 March 1832. The author reports that the mint (which was operated entirely by manual labour) employed around a thousand people, and was ‘managed altogether by Armenians; the labourers are chiefly Greeks’ ([Porter] 1835, 129–30). For examples of financial records of the mint written in Armeno-Turkish by Mihran Tiwzean, see Kürkman 2004, I, 38–43. Between 1819 and 1834 the *darbhane* was run by another *amira*, Yarut‘iwn Pēzčean (aka Kazzaz Artin, 1771–1834) (Barsoumian 1979, 312 mistakenly gives the latter date as 1832).

<sup>55</sup> Hoca Mik‘ayēl was also known as Mik‘ayēl Çelebi. His descendants were unusual amongst Armenian notables in that they kept the title ‘*çelebi*’ rather than ‘*amira*’, differentiating them from elite Orthodox families (Barsoumian 2013, 46). However, Barsoumian is not entirely correct in asserting that the term ‘*amira*’ was never used for Catholic notables, since Bžškean dedicates his treatise to ‘Anton Amiray Tiwzean’ (Bžškean 1997, 61).

<sup>56</sup> An employee of the Tiwzeans who was an eyewitness to the coup recorded the events in an Armenian manuscript now at San Lazzaro (translated into Turkish as Oğulukyan 1972). He mentions the rebels’ demand for Yovhannēs’ execution, and a later visit by Mustafa IV to the *darbhane*, where he gave Yovhannēs a gift of 3,000 *kuruş* and allowed him and his sons the rare privilege of kissing his feet (Oğulukyan 1972, 7–8, 15–16). Tayyazade Ata’s later list of the non-Muslims saved from execution includes ‘from among the bankers, the Jews Şamançu and Şabçı, the Tınkır Oğlu [family], Gülâbî Oğlu and ten other such notables’ (Tayyâr-zâde Atâ 2010, III, 67).

<sup>57</sup> Mēnēvişean 1890, 26; Dadyan 2011b, 177; Carmont 2012, 107.

<sup>58</sup> Mēnēvişean 1890, 27; MacFarlane 1829, II, 396; [Porter] 1835, 128.

chibouk, accompanied by his wife – by the orientalist Louis Dupré when he visited Istanbul in 1819.<sup>59</sup>

In the same year, however, the brothers were accused of embezzling tens of thousands of piasters, and of expending them ‘in building palaces on the Bosphorus and in the city, as well as in other objects of luxury and ostentation’.<sup>60</sup> In addition, it was discovered that the Tiwzeans had installed a clandestine Catholic chapel in their home, which contravened the laws regarding non-Muslim places of worship.<sup>61</sup> In October 1819, Sergis and Grigor were beheaded, and their brother Mik‘ayēl and cousin Mkrtič‘ were hung from the windows of the house in Yeniköy.<sup>62</sup> In addition, Yovhannēs’ three youngest sons, Yakob, Karapēt and Pōlos (as well as several other members of the Tiwzean family) were exiled to Kayseri for three years. The Tiwzeans’ main residence in Kuruçeşme was bought at a fraction of its real price by a Jewish banker named Ezekiel, the *sarraf* of the Interior Minister Halet Efendi (1761–1822), while their ‘magnificent palace’ in Yeniköy was given by the sultan to the Ağa of the Janissaries, Hüseyin Paşa (1776–1849).<sup>63</sup>

The Tiwzeans had lived in Kuruçeşme (on the western shore of the Bosphorus) since the early eighteenth century.<sup>64</sup> According to İnçičean, writing towards the end of the century, the village was populated mainly by Orthodox Greeks, with a handful of Muslim and Armenian

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<sup>59</sup> Dupré 1825, pl. XXXIII. The portrait, entitled ‘Un prince arménien et sa femme. (Duz-Oglou)’, is reproduced in various other publications, e.g. the cover of Vartan Paşa 1991 and also of Carmont 2012. A similar portrait of Sergis is found today at the monastery of San Lazzaro (Carmont, 2012, 59).

<sup>60</sup> [Porter] 1835, 128. A detailed account of the Tiwzeans’ misdemeanours (and those of the *darbhane-i amire emini* Abdurrahman Feyzi Bey) is given in Şânî-zâde Mehmed ‘Atâ’ullah Efendi 2008, II, 933–5, 937–44.

<sup>61</sup> Although the chapel is described in several European sources (e.g. Boré 1838, 63; [Porter] 1835, 128–9; Arpee 1909, 41), Ataullah Efendi’s official account does not mention this aspect of the affair, indicating that it was of little importance to the Sublime Porte in comparison with the allegations of embezzlement (see Şânî-zâde Mehmed ‘Atâ’ullah Efendi 2008, II, 933–5, 937–44). After 1707, not being permitted to worship in Armenian Orthodox churches, Catholic Armenians either attended Latin churches or celebrated mass at their homes, though many Armenian Catholics continued to attend Armenian Orthodox churches after this date (Arpee 1909, 39; Frazee 1983, 182–3). For more detailed discussion of the building regulations regarding Catholic churches in Istanbul and the way that these interacted with social practices, see Girardelli 2005.

<sup>62</sup> Şânî-zâde Mehmed ‘Atâ’ullah Efendi 2008, II, 941–2; Boré 1838, 66; Mēnēvişcan 1890, 31.

<sup>63</sup> Şânî-zâde Mehmed ‘Atâ’ullah Efendi 2008, II, 943; Boré 1838, 67; Walsh 1836, 502. Like Kuruçeşme, Yeniköy was mainly inhabited by Greeks, although there was also an Armenian church in the village (İnciyan 1976, 118–9). The Tiwzeans’ house in Yeniköy was built on the same estate (owned by the Mousouros family) as Stephanos Vogoridēs, an ally of the family and also a rival of Halet Efendi (Philliou 2011, 238n83). MacFarlane claims that the latter was employed by an Armenian merchant in his youth (MacFarlane 1829, II, 135–6), and according to Boré he enjoyed good personal relations with the Tiwzeans before the affair (Boré 1838, 58). In the early nineteenth century Halet Efendi was intimately involved in Phanariot power struggles (Philliou 2011, 54–9). He was executed in 1822 (see Özcan 1997), and the Tiwzeans retook possession of the house in Kuruçeşme in 1823 (Kınaylı 1968, 4835).

<sup>64</sup> The Tiwzeans had a family cemetery in Kuruçeşme, where the earliest tombstone dates from 1721 (Mēnēvişcan 1890, 6).

notables who had *yalis* or large wooden houses on the seafront.<sup>65</sup> Kuruçeşme was evidently favoured by wealthy elites: Sırkâtîbî Ahmed Efendi describes a fire in the area in 1797, which burned down the Tiwzeans' house as well as those of a Muslim dignitary, a European doctor, and the current and former Voivodes of Moldova and Wallachia.<sup>66</sup> Although the concealed chapel is generally believed to have been built in the Tiwzeans' older residence in Kuruçeşme, recent archaeological research by Paolo Girardelli indicates that it was part of another, masonry building on the Grand Rue de Pera, demonstrating that the Tiwzeans were active participants of the modernisation of this district in the early nineteenth century.<sup>67</sup>

The Tiwzeans also had a commercial house (*han*) in Galata, where they conducted business with clients such as the Levant Company and the English ambassador Robert Adair (1763–1855).<sup>68</sup> Much of their wealth seems to have been invested in precious stones: in 1809, they sold a gem-encrusted dagger for 86,000 piasters, while they also supplied wealthy Europeans and Levantines with diamonds.<sup>69</sup> The extent of the family's wealth and details of their lifestyle are confirmed by the court chronicler Ataullah Efendi's description of the auctioning of their property:

Over the course of an entire three months, as the contents of their numerous houses in Beyoğlu and on the Bosphorus and their properties scattered around most of the *hân*s in Istanbul were sold off, in every single one never-before-seen, beauteous items and unheard-of, innumerable precious [objects] and rarities materialised, which until now were not encountered by the eyes of the observers among the effects of either viziers or grandees, nor had such a thing occurred or happened among renowned merchants ... With regards to clothing, in the grounds of each of the numerous houses and seafront residences of every member of the Düzoğlu family there existed a personal laundry shop with all of the necessary equipment, materials, workers and servants, and all of those who went to [the auction of their] effects witnessed with their own eyes that the straps of their clogs for the bathhouse and toilet were ornamented with huge pearls, emeralds and rubies ... [There were] also 30 Bulgarian grooms to look after the horses [and] 60 choice Egyptian

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<sup>65</sup> İnciyan 1976, 115. Cf. Jamgocyan [2013], 165–7.

<sup>66</sup> Sırkâtîbî Ahmed Efendi 1993, 222.

<sup>67</sup> The Tiwzeans' masonry residence on the Grande Rue de Pera now belongs to Koç University (Girardelli 2016, 127–8). I am grateful to Dr Girardelli for sharing an earlier draft of this essay with me. Ataullah Efendi mentions that the Tiwzeans also provided a loan for their former employee Aznavuroğlu (probably Karapêt Aznavurean, 1745–1853) to build a semi-masonry (*nim-kargir*) house in Beyoğlu (Şânî-zâde Mehmed 'Atâ'ullah Efendi 2008, II, 939; cf. Dadyan 2011b, 128).

<sup>68</sup> Jamgocyan [2013], 103. According to Schmitt, following an almanac from 1883, 'A.B. Duzoglou, banquier' was listed as one of the occupants of 'Kievor bey Han' (in Galata or Pera) in 1833 (Schmitt 2007, 504).

<sup>69</sup> Jamgocyan [2013], 103.

steeds, some of which were taken from the Sultan's stable. There was a precious Egyptian set [of saddle and reins] to suit the colour of each one.<sup>70</sup>

The Tiwzean scandal attracted the attention of Europeans in Istanbul, some of whom knew the family personally, and was documented in great detail by several authors.<sup>71</sup> Although the cause of their downfall was ostensibly their criminal behaviour and lack of prudence in displaying their wealth (the appropriation of which by the imperial treasury was a routine practice), the episode was symptomatic of the factional politics and frequent intrigues amongst Ottoman elites. According to most accounts, the persecution of the Tiwzeans was orchestrated by the ambitious Halet Efendi, but there were also rumours that another Catholic Armenian family, the T'nkreans (Tr. Tingiroğlu), were involved.<sup>72</sup> The Tiwzean affair thus reflected not only rivalry amongst *amira* families over highly profitable positions at the mint, but also religious schisms within the Armenian community.

As well as being subject to persecution by Orthodox Armenians, Catholic Armenians were further divided between those who supported reconciliation with the 'national' church, and those who advocated absolute allegiance to Rome, regarding Orthodox Armenians as schismatic. The former were led by the Mxit'arists and their patrons, most notably the Tiwzeans, while the latter consisted of Armenians trained at the Collegio Urbano and their supporters, among them the T'nkreans. Precipitated by the Tiwzean affair, in 1820 a committee was formed (with the support of the Porte and the most powerful *amira* families) to effect a reconciliation between the Orthodox and Catholic sections of the Armenian *millet*. However, the Collegians' hostility to such an initiative provoked a riot, ending with the intervention of the Janissaries and further arrests, exiles and executions. The Ottoman authorities, wishing to prevent further unrest, were now obliged to take a closer interest in the ambiguous status of the Armenian Catholics.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Şânî-zâde Mehmed 'Atâ'ullah Efendi 2008, II, 943. Cf. Boré 1838, 62–4. See also the description of the Tiwzeans' *yalı* on the Bosphorus (presumably Kuruçeşme) by Marianne Damad, a descendant of the family who left Istanbul in 1876. According to Damad, the interior was sparsely furnished because of frequent fires; in agreement with Ataullah Efendi's account, she writes that the family preferred to expend their wealth on luxurious dress and ornaments (Damad 1916, 10–15).

<sup>71</sup> See especially Boré 1838, 56–68, but also Dupré 1825, 47–50; MacFarlane 1829, II, 143–6; [Porter] 1835, 128–9 and Arpee 1909, 40–42. Boré mentions that the Tiwzeans were friends with Joseph Marie Jouannin (1783–1844), attaché to the French embassy and, like Boré, an orientalist scholar, who also introduced the family to Louis Dupré (Boré 1838, 60; cf. Dupré 1825, 47–8).

<sup>72</sup> MacFarlane 1829, 145–6. Halet Efendi apparently owed the Tiwzeans a large sum of money (Arpee 1909, 40). On the T'nkrean family, see Dadyan 2011b, 151–2.

<sup>73</sup> Arpee 1909, 40–51; Beydilli 1995, 5–7; Frazee 1983, 257–8.



In 1827, the patriarchate secretly drew up a list of Armenian Catholics, with particular attention given to those regarded as ‘seditious’ (*miüfsid*), and submitted it to the Porte. The following year, a *ferman* was issued exiling around 12,000 Armenian Catholics to Ankara (including several members of the Tiwzean family) and forcing them to abandon their property.<sup>74</sup> Those who reverted to the Orthodox faith were ordered to leave the Frankish quarters of Galata and Pera, where most of the Armenian Catholics’ houses were located, and settle in Armenian quarters such as Kumkapı or Hasköy. Mahmud II apparently suspected the Armenian Catholics of being disloyal due to their ties with European powers, a fear compounded by Greek insurrection and the outbreak of war with Russia, and encouraged by the patriarchate as well as the *amira* Kazzaz Artin (Arm. Yarut‘iwn Pēzčean, 1771–1834), a former employee of the Tiwzeans who had taken over the mint after their downfall.<sup>75</sup>

Like the earlier events surrounding the Tiwzeans, the exile of the Armenian Catholics, which can be seen as an early manifestation of the Eastern Question, attracted much attention from European observers. Due to pressure from the French and Austrian ambassadors (directed by Metternich, who had also intervened in the Tiwzean affair), who argued that the establishment of a separate Catholic *millet* was necessary in order to avoid further destabilising conflicts, in 1831 a *berat* was issued to this effect, allowing the Armenian Catholics to return to Istanbul.<sup>76</sup> An Armenian Catholic bishop was appointed (with jurisdiction also over the Syriac communities) and, with the support of the Porte and Armenian notables including Karapēt and Yakob Tiwzean, a dedicated church was built in Galata and opened in 1834.<sup>77</sup>

In the same year, Kazzaz Artin died and Yakob Çelebi Tiwzean (1793–1847) was again entrusted with the management of the imperial mint.<sup>78</sup> Yakob was educated in Paris and

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<sup>74</sup> For details of the Armenian Catholics’ exile and its political ramifications, see Šedivý 2012; Beydilli 1995; Frazee 1983, 258–61; and Arpee 1909, 51–6. Five members of the Tiwzean family are found in the list of Catholic Armenians compiled by the patriarchate (reproduced and transliterated in Beydilli 1995, 37–108): Artin [Yarut‘iwn] (aged 40), son of Anton Düzöğlü; his brother Mikayil [Mik‘ayēl] (aged 23); Agop [Yakob] Düzöğlü (aged 36), son of Serupe [Serob]; Agop Düzöğlü’s son, Serupe [Serob] (aged 1); Bogos [Pōlōs] Düzöğlü, son of Serkis [Sergis] (no age given) (ibid, 45, 66, 86).

<sup>75</sup> Šedivý 2012, 53, 59. According to the chronicler Ahmed Lutfi Efendi, Kazzaz Artin orchestrated the exile of the Armenian Catholics ‘outwardly having the intention of loyalty to the [Ottoman] state, with the idea both of serving those of his own [Orthodox Armenian] sect and of putting his post [at the *darbhane*] out of reach of the Düzöğlü family again’ (Ahmed Lûtfi Efendi 1999, I, 202). Despite persistent rumours about Kazzaz Artin’s involvement in the exile of the Armenian Catholics, in many other respects he seems to have remained an ally of the Tiwzeans (see Dadyan 2011b, 136–43).

<sup>76</sup> The *berat* is translated in Arpee 1909, 58–61. One of the intentions of the legislation was that Catholic Armenians ‘may henceforth refrain from attending the churches of the Franks’ (ibid, 59; cf. Frazee 1983, 259–60). For the wider diplomatic and political context of relations between the Great Powers, the Porte and the Eastern Christian churches during the nineteenth century, see Fairey 2015.

<sup>77</sup> Beydilli 1995, 32–6.

<sup>78</sup> For Yakob Çelebi’s biography, see Mēnēvišean 1890, 35–9 and Dadyan 2011b, 178–9.

maintained connections with Europe and with Europeans in Istanbul; his wedding in 1834 was attended by Paul-Émile Le Vaillant de Florival, who reported that a number of places were reserved for ‘Franks’.<sup>79</sup> In the 1840s, with the support of Sultan Abdülmecid, Yakob travelled to England in order to bring steam-powered machinery to the mint, and opened cloth and paper factories in Istanbul and Izmir.<sup>80</sup> Like his father Yovhannēs, he was at the same time a leading figure in the Armenian community: the orator at his funeral compared him to the Irish Catholic politician Daniel O’Connell, who had died a few weeks previously.<sup>81</sup> The Tiwzeans continued to be influential into the later nineteenth century. Serkis Çelebi’s son Mihran Bey (1817–94) was a successful Ottoman bureaucrat: as well as managing the mint, he was one of the founders (with Pōlos Tiwzean) of the Banque Ottomane (established in 1853), and a member of the first representative councils established in the 1860s.<sup>82</sup>

#### 1.4. The Tiwzeans and Cultural Patronage

The Tiwzeans’ wealth and connections with the Muslim ruling class placed them at the centre of important economic and political developments in the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, their status as *amiras* or leaders of the Armenian community as well as their Catholicism and links with Europe enabled them to use their position to further new intellectual and cultural developments. Most importantly, the Tiwzeans played a central role in the Mxit‘arist revival by financing schools, learned societies, and publications, and supporting the careers of prominent Mxit‘arist scholars. It is in this context – of Armenian cultural nationalism rooted in the power

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<sup>79</sup> Paul-Émile Le Vaillant de Florival was Professor of Armenian at the École spéciale des langues orientales in Paris; the wedding is described in Le Vaillant de Florival 1846, 39–42. Although Dadyan claims that the Tiwzeans began sending their sons to Europe for their education in the eighteenth century, Yakob seems to be the first to have done this (Dadyan 2011b, 168). Boré writes of Sergis’ son (possibly Pōlos [see Beydilli 1995, 86] or, more likely, Mihran [see Dadyan 2011b, 180–81]): ‘en ce moment [i.e. 1837], il puise dans nos écoles de Paris toutes les lumières de la science et de la civilisation modernes’ (Boré 1838, 67). Another member of the family, ‘Diran Duzoglu’, learned minting techniques in Paris and London with state support (Jamgocyan [2013], 221). Boré noted that the Tiwzeans had invested their capital in various places in Europe, especially England and France (ibid, 58) – a practice also followed by Mouradgea D’Ohsson and, as Findley notes, later condemned by Turkish nationalists (Findley 1998a, 23). Yakob died in Vicenza, on his way to Paris to seek medical treatment (Mēnēviṣean 1890, 38).

<sup>80</sup> Mēnēviṣean 1890, 37.

<sup>81</sup> Muratean 1847, 3–4.

<sup>82</sup> Mēnēviṣean 1890, 45–8; Dadyan 2011b, 180–81; Eldem 1999b, 24. A number of other Armenian *sarrafs* were instrumental in establishing and running the Banque Ottomane (Barsoumian 2013, 97). Roderic Davison notes that Armenian Catholics were disproportionately well represented in the Council of State (Şura-yı Devlet, established in 1868), of which Mihran Bey was a member. With four members, they constituted the largest group of non-Muslim councillors (Davison 1968, 104). See also Hartmann 2010, 192.

of local Ottomanised elites – that the Tiwzeans patronised Minas Bžškean and Hambarjum Limōnčean and supported their efforts to develop a new system of musical notation.

The Tiwzeans were associated with the Mxit‘arist movement not only by intellectual affinity or as an impersonal source of funding, but through familial connections that linked the monastery of San Lazzaro with the Armenian elites of Istanbul. Hoca Mik‘ayēl Tiwzean intended to marry his daughter to the Mxit‘arist historian Mik‘ayēl Č‘amč‘ean (1738–1823), who was apprenticed to the family as a goldsmith in his youth, while other prominent Mxit‘arist scholars were employed by the Tiwzeans as personal confessors and tutors: the grammarian Arsen Bagratuni (1790–1866) taught Armenian to Yovhannēs’ children, including his daughters.<sup>83</sup> Similarly, Minas Bžškean acted as a private confessor and tutor to the Tiwzean family during his stay in Istanbul between 1808 and 1815, the period in which he wrote his treatise on music as well as an Armenian verse compendium for children. Bžškean dedicated both works to members of the Tiwzean family: the children’s compendium (1815) was dedicated to Yakob, while the colophon of *Eražštut‘iwn* (intended for publication in the same year) informs us that it was written ‘with the diligent effort and the very generous support of the noble and pious [now] deceased Anton Amira Tiwzean’.<sup>84</sup>

The Tiwzeans established educational institutions in Istanbul for the benefit of the Armenian *millet*: Yovhannēs founded Mxit‘arist schools in the districts of Galata and Kartal, and renovated an existing Armenian school in Üsküdar.<sup>85</sup> In addition to financing the publication of Mxit‘arist journals and books, some of which (including those by Bžškean) were used in schools in Istanbul, members of the Tiwzean family actively contributed to Mxit‘arist scholarship. Yakob Tiwzean helped establish the first periodical published by the Viennese Mxit‘arists (*Ewropa* [*Europe*], 1847–63), and edited and wrote an introductory grammar for a Persian–Armenian dictionary published in Istanbul in 1826.<sup>86</sup> Similarly, Yakob’s brother Karapēt (1779–1855) supported the publication of a French–Armenian dictionary by Paschal

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<sup>83</sup> Adalian 1992, 17, 41; Mēnēvišean 1890, 22. Marianne Damad, a descendant of the Tiwzean family, mentions ‘le chapelain de la maison, le Père Arsène, un prêtre fort érudit qui venait du couvent arménien catholique de Venise’ (Damad 1916, 15). According to Boré, Yovhannēs had six sons and six daughters (Boré 1838, 56). All six sons are mentioned in Mēnēvišean 1890 (Grigor, Sergis, Mik‘ayēl, Yakob, Karapēt and Pōlos) but only two daughters (T‘aguhi and Iskuhi); cf. Dupré 1825, 47–8, who similarly mentions six daughters, but names only ‘Takouhi-Doudou et Iskouhi-Doudou’.

<sup>84</sup> Bžškean 1815; idem 1997, 61.

<sup>85</sup> Mēnēvišean 1890, 20–21; Angeleay 1903, 90; cf. Etmekjian 1964, 163–4.

<sup>86</sup> Palatec‘i 1826. The dictionary was sponsored by Yarut‘iwn Pēzčean. On the journal *Ewropa*, see Bardakjian [1976], 20; Barsoumian 2013, 130. An internal dispute after Mxit‘ar’s death in 1749 led to the establishment of a second branch of the Mxit‘arist order in Trieste in 1775, which moved permanently to Vienna in 1811 (Peratoner 2007, 150–56).

Aucher (who later taught and collaborated with Byron on an English–Armenian grammar) and a thirteenth-century medical treatise.<sup>87</sup>

Perhaps the most significant contribution of the Tiwzeans to the Mxit‘arist revival was their patronage of the Aršaruni Society (Aršaruneac‘ Ėnkerut‘iwn), which aimed to promote scholarship and publishing in Armenian and was established by Yovhannēs shortly before his death in 1812. The Aršaruni Society initially had around 40–45 members and was the first institution of its kind in Istanbul.<sup>88</sup> In a speech given before its members, Yovhannēs Çelebi outlined the aims of the Society:

The primary aim of our Society is to provide, with our expenditure and money, for the publication of all the writings of our benevolent ancestors that have remained [extant] until now, so that they may not be lost for our descendants; because there is such an immense literature that is unknown to us, which we used to have; it was a great treasury of our language, and a [source of] glorious pride before other nations, so that we were renowned amongst them. The second aim of this Society is [to publish] whatever scientific books now exist, and to provide for the composition and publishing of other completely new books in science, arts and history, by which our readers’ minds will be illuminated.<sup>89</sup>

The Society was headed by the Mxit‘arist scholar Łukas Inčičean (1758–1833) and published important philological works such as Gabriēl Awetik‘ean’s grammar of Armenian (1815).<sup>90</sup> One of its main achievements was the publication of a fortnightly Mxit‘arist journal, *Ditak Biwzandean* (*Byzantine Observer*, 1812–16), which was printed in Venice and informed readers of military and political developments in Europe, as well as featuring articles on scholarly or cultural topics.<sup>91</sup>

The speeches given to the Aršaruni Society by Yovhannēs and his son Mik‘ayēl display a strong admiration for European culture. In his founding speech, Yovhannēs argued that

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<sup>87</sup> Aucher 1812; Herac‘i 1832. Karapēt was employed at the mint under Abdūlmecid, and enjoyed close relations with the sultan, who visited him and his nephew Mihran at their home (Mēnēvišean 1890, 45–8; Barsoumian 2013, 110; Jamgocyan [2013], 84). Karapēt’s granddaughter recalls that he was often invited to the palace for social occasions, while his wife acted as an interpreter for female foreign dignitaries (Damad 1916, 18–19, 23–4).

<sup>88</sup> T[iwzean], [Yovhannēs] 1813, 6. Apart from the informal ‘Beşiktaş Group’, which was founded in 1826, other Ottoman learned societies were not established until the second half of the nineteenth century (see Strauss 1995a, 212–5; Meral 2013, 131–3; İhsanoğlu 2003, XIII).

<sup>89</sup> T[iwzean], [Yovhannēs] 1813, 8. The speech was published posthumously, and is signed simply ‘Y. T.’ Mēnēvišean (who cites an excerpt) confirms that the author was Yovhannēs Tiwzean (Mēnēvišean 1890, 21n1).

<sup>90</sup> Adalian 1992, 18; Pehlivanian 2002, 85. Among other works, Inčičean wrote a description of late-eighteenth century Istanbul in Armenian, later translated into Turkish by Hrand Andreasyan (see İnciyan 1976).

<sup>91</sup> According to Barsoumian, the Society provided financial assistance for another early Armenian periodical, *Elanak Biwzandean* (*Byzantine Season*, 1803–20), also published in Venice (Barsoumian 2013, 129–30). Cf. Bardakjian [1976], 19.

Armenians should travel abroad (i.e. to Europe) to increase their learning, and disseminate this wisdom amongst their unenlightened countrymen, while the Society's journal offered examples of scientific and cultural progress from the West. Yovhannēs held up classical Greece and Rome, as well as contemporary Europe, as models to emulate, arguing that the success of these societies was a consequence 'not of their natural intelligence, nor their enthusiasm, nor their efforts to be learned, but above all their patriotism (*hayrenasirut'iwn*) and their unity (*miabanut'iwn*).'<sup>92</sup> Thus, while the Armenians were not deficient in intelligence, a lack of patriotism and national unity had prevented them from achieving the successes of other civilisations, 'as with a large diamond whose substance is good, but which lacks an artist who by working on it could bring out its essence'. According to Yovhannēs, 'this artist is patriotism, which shapes the facets of the love of science upon our minds; by this we begin to shine.'<sup>93</sup>

Yet while the Aršaruni Society – like the Mxit'arist movement in general – propagated a form of cultural nationalism, it is important to remember that the Tiwzeans remained loyal servants of the Ottoman state well into the late nineteenth century. Furthermore, their integration into local power networks and assimilation of Ottoman cultural practices meant that they identified more closely with the Ottoman Empire than with contemporary Europe: as Mik'ayēl warned, it was not praiseworthy to become 'Europeanised' (*fəṛēnklēnmiš*) by spending too long abroad.<sup>94</sup> As we shall see in the following chapters, this dynamic tension between westernisation, ethno-religious nationalism and assimilation to a local Ottoman identity featured prominently in debates about musical reform during the nineteenth century, not only within the Armenian community but also amongst Greek Orthodox and Muslim intellectuals.

The Tiwzeans' patronage of cultural and musical activities in early nineteenth-century Istanbul offers a vivid illustration of the ways in which the Mxit'arist revival, as a cosmopolitan intellectual movement, was played out in local contexts and overlapped with the concerns of other confessional communities in the Ottoman Empire. The educational institutions established by the family were central not only to the propagation of the national self-awareness and Enlightenment modes of thought associated with the Mxit'arist revival, but also provided the immediate context in which new cultural practices, including the use of Hampartsum notation, were developed and disseminated. Both Bžškean and Limōnčean were directly linked

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<sup>92</sup> T[iwzean], [Yovhannēs] 1813, 6.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> T[iwzean], [Mik'ayēl] 1813, 15. The essay is signed only 'M.T.'

to the Mxit‘arist school established by the Tiwzean family in Galata: Bžškean was director of the school during his stay in Istanbul, while Limōnčean was employed as a music teacher in the same institution.<sup>95</sup> The Galata school, as well as the residence of the Tiwzeans in Kuruçeşme (and presumably their other properties around the Grande Rue de Pera), played host to the cultural activities supported by the family’s patronage, which included developments in Ottoman music and in Turkish-language theatre.

Theatrical performances were a part of the Mxit‘arist programme in San Lazzaro from around 1730 onwards.<sup>96</sup> Didactic or moralising plays were written and performed in both Armenian and Turkish by Mxit‘arist monks, who in the early nineteenth century began to spread the practice to the Ottoman Empire. Bžškean is acknowledged as a pioneer of this movement, and staged the first performances outside San Lazzaro in 1810 at the Mxit‘arist school in Galata and at the Tiwzeans’ mansion in Kuruçeşme; he later directed plays in Trabzon and Karasupazar.<sup>97</sup> Although the importance of Armenian impresarios, playwrights and actors during the second half of the nineteenth century has long been acknowledged, more recently it has been argued that these early Mxit‘arist plays – which, like the literary works that emerged a few decades later, were often written in Armeno-Turkish – should be considered an integral part of the history of Ottoman theatre.<sup>98</sup> In this sense, the Tiwzeans and their clients contributed not only to the Mxit‘arist revival, but also to a broader process in Ottoman urban society whereby intellectual currents from Europe were translated into a local idiom by mediators such as Bžškean, leading to the emergence of new cultural practices that were shared across confessional boundaries.

In a similar way, the Tiwzeans’ patronage of Ottoman music demonstrates how Armenian elites in Istanbul mediated between the transimperial and proto-nationalist concerns of the Mxit‘arist movement and local Ottoman sensibilities. The Tiwzeans’ residences in Istanbul were sites of musical performance and cultural connoisseurship: according to Boré, the family frequently hosted Muslim dignitaries such as Halet Efendi, ‘whom they entertained with splendid parties, illuminations and feasts, [and] an unprecedented luxury of etiquette.’<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Step‘anyan 1978, I, 199; Hiwrmiwzean 1873, 53. According to a mid-nineteenth-century observer, ‘sacred music’ was part of the curriculum in Armenian schools in Istanbul (Dadian 1867, 30; cf. Jamgocyan [2013], 183).

<sup>96</sup> Zekiyan 2013, 19–30.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 34–6; Manok 2013, 169; Etmekjian 1964, 198.

<sup>98</sup> Manok 2013. On the role of Armenians in late nineteenth-century Ottoman theatre, see Güllü 2008; Şaraşan 2008; And 1976, 14–41.

<sup>99</sup> Boré 1838, 58.

Similarly, Porter reports that a member of the ‘Dooz Ouglou’ family ‘built splendid palaces on the Bosphorus, laid out magnificent gardens, [and] gave large festivals (Kefs) [Tr. *keyf*, lit. ‘pleasure’] to his numerous connexions, thirty or forty boat loads at a time.’<sup>100</sup>

It was at the Tiwzeans’ *yali* in Kuruçeşme that Limōnčean listened to the master singers (*hanende*) of the time, and no doubt performed himself; it was also here that Limōnčean, Bžškean and members of the Tiwzean family discussed and developed the system of Hampartsum notation.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, the Tiwzeans were themselves performers of Ottoman music: Yovhannēs is reported to have ‘instructed himself in multifarious sciences and music’, while Mēnēvišean also claims that Selim III (who was himself an accomplished musician) ‘used to show his great satisfaction especially when Yovhannēs’ brother [Anton], who was a brilliant lyre player (*k’narahar*), and Yovhannēs’ sons Sergis and Mik‘ayēl, who were skilled lutenists (*p’andīnahark*), exhilarated the sultan with the fast movement of their fingers.’<sup>102</sup>

The Tiwzeans’ patronage of projects as diverse as the Aršaruni Society, theatrical performances in Turkish and the introduction of a new notation system to Ottoman music demonstrates the complexity of the Mxit‘arist revival as a transcultural phenomenon. While it was intimately associated with the Armenian monastery of San Lazzaro, it was underpinned by the wealth and power of local Ottomanised elites in Istanbul, who were the most influential patrons and propagators of its ideals. In this sense, the so-called ‘Armenian Renaissance’ was

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<sup>100</sup> [Porter] 1835, 128.

<sup>101</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 9; Angeleay 1903, 79. See Chapter Two.

<sup>102</sup> Mēnēvišean 1890, 20. The organological terms used by Mēnēvišean are ambiguous: *k’nar* usually means ‘lyre’ (my thanks to Haig Utidjian for advice on this point), but in the Ottoman context may signify a *santur* (hammered dulcimer) (Cf. Öztuna 1990, I, 111, where he translates the journal title ‘Kınar Arevelyan’ [sic] as ‘Doğu Santûru’). *P’andir* is etymologically related to the Greek *pandoura* and presumably signifies here the Ottoman *tanbur* (long-necked lute). On Selim III’s musical activities, see Salgar 2013 and Beşiroğlu 2010. Although Anton Tiwzean (1765–1814), the dedicatee of Bžškean’s musical treatise, is believed by Kerovpyan to be the composer of a *peşrev* in the *makam nühüft*, this is certainly a misattribution (though it is of course possible that Anton did compose secular Ottoman pieces that have not survived into the modern repertoire). The *nühüft peşrev* is mentioned by Bžškean (1997, 146), where he names the composer simply as ‘Anton’, which Kerovpyan interprets in a footnote as referring to Anton Tiwzean. However, elsewhere in the treatise Bžškean always refers to the latter using the honorific titles ‘ē‘ēlēpi’ or ‘amiray’ (e.g. *ibid*, 61, 73, 74). Furthermore, the piece is attributed to ‘Anşon’ (sic) in Hekimbaşı ‘Abdü’l-‘Azīz Efendi’s *Mecmū’a* (İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, Türkçe Yazmalar 3866, f. 390b), which was compiled before 1775 (i.e. when Anton Tiwzean was only 10 years old), confirming that this must refer to another (probably) Armenian musician. One possible candidate (suggested to me by Kyriakos Kalaitzidis) is Antoine de Murat (ca. 1739–1813), who is reported to have been a student of Petros Pelopōnnesios (see Chapter Three). This hypothesis may be supported by the fact that the *peşrev* (by ‘Antoni’) appears in a manuscript in Middle Byzantine notation attributed to Pelopōnnesios (Kalaitzidis 2012, 101) and probably dating in large part to the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The piece is attributed (falsely) to Lavtacı Andon (d. 1925?) in Öztuna 1990, I, 61. It appears in numerous manuscript collections from the nineteenth century, where it is usually attributed to ‘Andon’ but never ‘Düzyan’ (or, admittedly, ‘Murad’): e.g. AK56, p. 13; CK1, p. 88; NE204, p. 36; NE205, p. 22; NE207, p. 43; NE211, p. 150; ST1, pp. 111, 147; TA107, p. 106; TA108, p. 22a (see bibliography for a full list of manuscripts in Hampartsum notation and their abbreviations).

not an abstract manifestation of national destiny, but evolved in parallel with the ascendancy of the *amiras*, as an aspect of more general shifts in material and social practices and the position of non-Muslims within Ottoman urban society. The Tiwzeans, like other *amira* families, were prominent Ottoman subjects who were well integrated into the urban environment of Istanbul and into local political and social structures. In their familial organisation, for example, they exemplify the politics of the household and of interpersonal relationships that was a typical feature of Ottoman governance, both with regards to Muslim elites and to other non-Muslim groups such as the Phanariots.

Moreover, the Tiwzeans both contributed to and were influenced by transformations in the urban and social environment of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Istanbul, which were precipitated by a process of economic and political decentralisation and increasing interaction with Europe, affecting many segments of Ottoman urban society, from Muslim notables to Levantine merchants. These included changes in material culture such as the blurring of social boundaries through new sartorial habits; architectural and demographic transformations, especially the building of mansions on the Bosphorus, the development of Galata and Pera, and the settlement of the latter districts by non-Muslim Ottoman subjects; and new social practices linked to these material changes, particularly the emergence of a new culture of leisure and public display. Likewise, the Tiwzeans' patronage of education and printing must be seen not only as part of the Mxit'arist revival, but also in the context of efforts at political and social reform throughout the Ottoman Empire, both at state level and within other Ottoman communities.

Conversely, the intellectual and cultural activities of the Tiwzeans show how developments in Istanbul were connected to Europe and the wider world through the networks of the Armenian diaspora. The Tiwzeans cultivated both economic and cultural ties with Europe: in Istanbul, they mixed with local Europeans, living in the same districts and attending the same churches, and at the same time made financial investments abroad, brought new industrial technology to the Ottoman Empire with the support of the Sublime Porte, and sent their children and clients to be educated in Italy, France or England. Through their connections with San Lazzaro, the Tiwzeans engaged with contemporary intellectual developments in Europe and attempted to spread this knowledge amongst the Armenian *millet* by financing publications, schools and learned societies in Istanbul.

It is within this nexus between Ottoman urban society, the Armenian diaspora and intellectual currents from the west that new cultural practices emerged, such as the early



Turkish-language theatre, the Armeno-Turkish novel and, as I will argue, the notation system developed by two of the Tiwzeans' clients, the Mxit'arist scholar Minas Bžškean and the musician Hambarjum Limōnčean. The following chapter explores the biographies and largely unstudied writings of these figures, including Bžškean's treatise on music, completed in 1812, and Limōnčean's autobiographical memoir, written in 1837. By reading these sources against the background of a transimperial cultural revival that was simultaneously rooted in the urban environment of early nineteenth-century Istanbul, the chapter offers a critique of existing mythologies of the genesis of Hampartsum notation, and investigates the ways in which the Mxit'arist revival was articulated in the context of Ottoman musical practice.

## 2. The Invention of Hampartsum Notation

In the previous chapter, I argued that the invention of Hampartsum notation was facilitated by the patronage of the Tiwzean family and the wider processes of social and economic transformation that contributed to the rise of the *amiras* as well as to the emergence of new cultural practices in Ottoman Istanbul. While some of the Tiwzean family were also directly involved in the development of the writing system, it was due to the efforts of other members of their patronage circle that Hampartsum notation was documented, theorised and disseminated more widely amongst Armenian and Muslim musicians. These processes have hitherto been almost exclusively associated with the Ottoman Armenian musician Hambarjum Limōnčean (1768–1839). However, in the present chapter I will demonstrate that Limōnčean collaborated not only with Anton and Yakob Tiwzean to develop the new notation system, but also with another of the Tiwzeans' clients, the Mxit'arist polymath Minas Bžškean (1777–1851).

I begin by exploring Bžškean's life and intellectual output as an aspect of larger themes in Armenian cultural history, including the role of diasporic connections and print technology in the emergence of the Mxit'arist movement. More specifically, I introduce Bžškean's treatise on music of 1812, and consider its significance in terms of its contribution not only to existing narratives of the invention of Hampartsum notation, but also to the history of Ottoman music more broadly speaking. The social and musical environment in which the new notation system emerged is explored further through the life of Hambarjum Limōnčean, whose autobiographical memoir sheds more light on the activities of Armenian musicians in early nineteenth-century Istanbul.

By drawing together the writings of Bžškean and Limōnčean, I present a fresh historical account of the invention of Hampartsum notation that contextualises this event within the wider world of the Ottoman Armenian community and its transimperial connections. This provides the basis, in the following section, for a discussion of the ideological factors that shaped the discourse of musical reform propounded by Bžškean and Limōnčean. Here, I highlight the ways in which this discourse resonated with other aspects of the Mxit'arist revival, especially with regards to debates about language and national identity. Yet while the invention of Hampartsum notation was in certain respects an expression of the Armenian cultural revival, a closer examination of the evidence points towards other influences from within the plural musical and

intellectual environment of Ottoman Istanbul. The transcommunal dimensions of Bžškean's treatise and of the notion of notational reform itself are discussed at the end of the present chapter, leading to a more detailed exploration of cross-cultural interactions in the following chapters.

## 2.1. Minas Bžškean and His Treatise on Music

Minas Bžškean was born in Trabzon in 1777, and probably entered the clergy at a young age.<sup>1</sup> He joined the Mxit'arist monastery in Venice, where he was ordained as a celibate monk and completed his religious studies before returning to the Ottoman Empire, arriving in Istanbul in 1808. While in Istanbul he was employed by the Tiwzeans both as a personal tutor and confessor, and as director of the Mxit'arist school which they had established in Galata.<sup>2</sup> As mentioned in Chapter One, Bžškean is credited with staging the first performances of the Mxit'arist theatre outside San Lazzaro, which he accomplished in his capacity as an educator in schools in Istanbul and the Black Sea region.<sup>3</sup> He is reported to have also given instruction in music<sup>4</sup>; his treatise confirms that he was familiar with both Armenian chant and secular Ottoman music. Bžškean left Istanbul in 1815 for Trabzon, and in around 1820–22 was appointed to an ecclesiastical position in Karasupazar (present-day Bilohirsk) in the Crimea, where he was resident for several years.<sup>5</sup> At some point before 1830 he travelled to Lviv in the Galicia region (today western Ukraine), where he also briefly resided. He died in Venice in 1851.

Bžškean was a prolific author, and is known mainly through his published works. Around the same time that he completed his treatise on music (perhaps his earliest work), he published

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<sup>1</sup> A detailed treatment of Bžškean's life and works, which deserve to be the subject of a separate study, is beyond the scope of this thesis. For brief biographical notices, see Ōhanyan and T'ahmizyan 1978; Step'anyan 1978, I, 199 and Vardumyan 1983, 568n15.

<sup>2</sup> Step'anyan 1978, I, 199.

<sup>3</sup> Zekiyan 2013, 34–6; Manok 2013, 169; Etmekjian 1964, 198. According to Manok, Bžškean also wrote plays, although he does not provide further details. As he points out elsewhere, Mxit'arist plays were usually performed only once and were not written for publication (Manok 2013, 45).

<sup>4</sup> Tayean 1927, 59.

<sup>5</sup> In some sources Bžškean is said to have left Istanbul in 1825, e.g. Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 89. The latter is somewhat surprising, given that elsewhere Kerovpyan cites a letter by Bžškean written in 1815, and states that he left Istanbul for Trabzon in the same year (K'erovbean 1997, 5); he mentions in the same place that Bžškean stayed in Trabzon until 1819. Zekiyan gives the date of 1817 for his departure from Istanbul, and claims that he established a Mxit'arist school in Karasupazar in 1820–21 (Zekiyan 2013, 34–6). According to Tayean (following an article by K'erovpē K'ušnarean, published in *Bazmavēp* in 1881), Bžškean was appointed to a post in Karasupazar in 1822 (Tayean 1927, 59).

a number of pedagogical books: a verse compendium for children (1815), a children's encyclopaedia (1818) and a translation of Aesop's fables (1818).<sup>6</sup> Bžškean's translation of *Robinson Crusoe* (1817) is considered by some scholars to be the first literary work written in vernacular Armenian.<sup>7</sup> In 1819, he published a historical and geographical study of the Black Sea region, followed in 1820 by a book of religious instruction for children.<sup>8</sup> Another children's reader appeared in 1824.<sup>9</sup> In addition, Bžškean wrote several books on linguistics, including a Russian–Armenian grammar (1828) and a grammar of Armenian with commentary in Russian (1840).<sup>10</sup> Bžškean's *K'erakanut'iwn Bazmalezu* ('Polyglot Grammar') of 1844, which was dedicated to Tsar Nicholas I, indicates that he was competent in around a dozen languages.<sup>11</sup> He also published a descriptive and historical account of the Armenian communities of Poland ('Lehastan') and the Crimea (1830), and a two-volume history of the papacy (1838).<sup>12</sup> His last published work was a biographical dictionary of famous figures in religious and intellectual life, both Armenian and non-Armenian (1850).<sup>13</sup>

Bžškean's life and work can be read through a number of lenses. As a religious scholar and educator, he typifies the intellectual revival associated with Mxit'ar of Sivas and his followers. Like Abbot Mxit'ar, Bžškean was a Catholic convert who migrated from the Anatolian provinces to Latin Europe, and dedicated his life to the education of Armenian communities in the Ottoman Empire. His published works, in common with those of contemporary Mxit'arist scholars such as Mik'ayēl Č'amč'ean or Gabriēl Avetik'ean, display a dual commitment both to the intellectual heritage of classical Armenian scholarship, and to newer modes of thought associated with the Enlightenment. In particular, Bžškean's concern with language and his contributions to the formation of a vernacular literature are characteristic of Mxit'arist scholarship (beginning with Mxit'ar's grammar of vernacular Armenian, published in 1727), and are closely linked to an emerging sense of Armenian nationhood.<sup>14</sup> As

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<sup>6</sup> Bžškean 1815, 1818; Ezovbos 1818. Descriptive notes on many of Bžškean's books can be found in Nersessian 1980.

<sup>7</sup> Merguerian 2010, 205n13 (citing an unpublished paper by Marc Nichanian). The popularity of Bžškean's translation (Defoe 1817) can be gauged from the fact that it was republished in 1836, 1858 and 1911. His translation of Aesop's fables was also reprinted in 1827 and 1849.

<sup>8</sup> Bžškean 1819, 1820. Bžškean's study of the Black Sea region has been translated into Turkish by Hrand Andreasyan (Bijışkyan 1969).

<sup>9</sup> Bžškean 1824.

<sup>10</sup> Idem 1828, 1840.

<sup>11</sup> Idem 1844. The book compares grammatical structures in Armenian, Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Tatar, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German, English, Russian and Hungarian.

<sup>12</sup> Idem 1830, 1838.

<sup>13</sup> Idem 1850.

<sup>14</sup> Adalian 1992; Panossian 2006, 132–7; Nichanian 1989, 239–82; Oshagan 2004, 155–8. Cf. Aslanian 2016.

I will argue, these intellectual currents were an important factor in discussions of notational reform, which were shaped by broader debates concerning the role of script and language in the formation of Armenian identity. Similarly, Bžškean's translations of European works, both in a literal sense and in the form of adaptations of European historical subjects or scholarly methods, are examples of a larger process of cultural translation that was a key element of the Mxit'arist revival.<sup>15</sup>

Bžškean's life illustrates the material ways in which the Mxit'arist movement was shaped by both transimperial connections and local conditions. On the one hand, Bžškean's geographical mobility and multilingualism were reflections of the diasporic state of the Armenian people as a result of both forced migrations and long-standing involvement in transimperial trade.<sup>16</sup> As Sebouh Aslanian has recently argued, the global trade networks of Armenian merchants existed in a symbiotic relationship with those of the clergy, who settled in the same diasporic centres – typically port cities such as Istanbul or Venice – and travelled along the same routes. The interdependence of Armenian trade and religious networks, which provided the conditions for the transmission of new ideas and technologies across geographical and cultural boundaries, was a central factor in the emergence of Armenian print culture. This in turn formed the basis for the Mxit'arist revival, as the highly active press at San Lazzaro produced editions of classical Armenian works, as well as new works on Armenian language and history, and disseminated them via the same trade networks to communities in Europe, the Ottoman lands and further east.<sup>17</sup>

But although in many ways Bžškean exemplifies the 'Armenian Renaissance', he also complicates existing interpretations of the Mxit'arist revival by highlighting interconnections between San Lazzaro and Istanbul. Literature on modern Armenian intellectual history has usually excised the Mxit'arist movement from its Ottoman context, but in fact the latter provided the main arena in which scholars, books and institutions connected with the order flourished. Like Bžškean, Mxit'arist monks were typically Turkish-speaking Armenians from the eastern Ottoman provinces who maintained close links to the region. A large proportion of

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<sup>15</sup> For a contextualisation of the 'Armenian Renaissance' in relation to the European Enlightenment, see the essays by Ghougassian, Nichanian, Oshagan and Zekiyan in Hovannisian and Myers 1999.

<sup>16</sup> On transimperial trade networks, see Aslanian 2011; Baghdiantz McCabe et al 2005 and Baghdiantz McCabe 1999.

<sup>17</sup> Aslanian has explored the relationship between Armenian priests and traders and the emergence of Armenian printing in a series of recent essays: see Aslanian 2016, 2014a, 2014b, 2013, 2012b. The press at San Lazzaro was established in 1789; before this date the Mxit'arists used local Venetian printing houses, most notably that of Antonio Bortoli (Aslanian 2013, 46; Pehlivanian 2002, 73). For general surveys of Armenian printing, see Pehlivanian 2002 and Nersessian 1980, 9–40.

Mxit'arist books (and plays) were thus written in Armeno-Turkish, and Istanbul provided both the largest market for books and periodicals printed in San Lazzaro and the main point of distribution further afield, as they were shipped from Venice and then taken eastwards overland.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, the ties between San Lazzaro and Istanbul were such that, politically, the former functioned as a kind of colony of the empire, being inhabited mainly by Ottoman subjects, and therefore flew the Ottoman flag.<sup>19</sup>

As we have seen in Chapter One, Bžškean's early career was supported by the supervisors of the Ottoman imperial mint, the Tiwzean family, who patronised a number of other Mxit'arist scholars and institutions, including learned societies, journals and schools in Istanbul. Indeed, Bžškean's treatise on music was written during the period in which he was directly employed by the Tiwzeans in the Ottoman capital, and was dedicated to Anton Tiwzean (while also mentioning the involvement of two other members of the family).<sup>20</sup> A closer study of this work, considered in relation both to Bžškean's other activities and to the immediate conditions surrounding its creation, can therefore illustrate how the cosmopolitan currents of the Mxit'arist revival, which drew on aspects of Enlightenment thought and fostered an emerging sense of Armenian cultural nationalism, were at the same time entangled with local Ottoman mentalities and practices.

Bžškean's treatise on music – henceforth referred to by its short title *Eražštut'iwn* ('Music') – was completed in Istanbul in 1812, some four years after he had returned to the Ottoman Empire from San Lazzaro.<sup>21</sup> However, although two manuscript copies were sent to Venice for publication in 1815 (the date borne on the title page), the work remained unpublished during Bžškean's lifetime.<sup>22</sup> The reasons for this may have been partly financial, owing to the premature death of Anton Tiwzean, the dedicatee and thus main sponsor of *Eražštut'iwn*, in 1814.<sup>23</sup> A further reason appears to have been the lack of suitable printing types for the notations.<sup>24</sup> Thus, although Bžškean was apparently still expecting the publication of the treatise

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<sup>18</sup> Aslanian 2014a, 58–9; Pehlivanian 2002, 56–8. On Armenian printing houses in Istanbul, see *ibid.*, 77–80. For bibliographic surveys of publications in Armeno-Turkish, see Stepanyan 2005 and Mildanoğlu 2014, 387–96.

<sup>19</sup> Manok 2013, 14.

<sup>20</sup> Bžškean 1997, 61, 73–4.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>22</sup> Information about the provenance and physical characteristics of the manuscripts can be found in Aram Kerovpyan's introduction to the modern edition (K'erovbean 1997). Although I visited the library of San Lazzaro in April 2013, I was unable to consult the original manuscripts of *Eražštut'iwn*. The information presented here is therefore based on Kerovpyan's edition. Samples of pages from the original manuscripts have been published in Bžškean 1997, 157; Kerovpyan 2003, 40 and Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 89, 99.

<sup>23</sup> Bžškean 1997, 74.

<sup>24</sup> K'erovbean 1997, 38.

two years later (when he wrote to San Lazzaro from Trabzon in order to enquire about its progress<sup>25</sup>), the manuscripts lay uncatalogued in the monastery's archive until an edition was published in Yerevan in 1997 by Aram Kerovpyan. *Eražštut'iwn* therefore remained largely inaccessible to scholars throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the importance of the treatise for the early history of Hampartsum notation, as well as Bžškean's role in its invention, have seldom been appreciated.

The full title of Bžškean's treatise is: *Eražštut'iwn or ē hamarōt telekut'iwn eražštakan skzbanc' elewējut'eanc' elanakac' ew nšanagrac' xazic'* ('Music, that is brief information concerning musical principles, the scales of the modes and the written signs of the notes').<sup>26</sup> Consisting of 65 closely written pages in the fair copy of the manuscript, it is divided into five main sections, including an introduction, the main body of the work (further divided into Parts A and B), a 'supplement' ('Yaveluac') and an appendix. The introduction deals with the origins of music, drawing mainly on biblical and classical sources, and sets out the historical background of the use of notation amongst the Armenians and other peoples.<sup>27</sup> Describing the decline of the medieval *xaz* system, Bžškean argues that it was necessary to develop a new notation system that would provide a more rational and standardised means of writing, teaching and performing music. It is here that he provides detailed information about the invention of Hampartsum notation, mentioning the main actors and their principle motivations.<sup>28</sup>

Part A is mainly an explanation of the physics of sound, which describes phenomena such as vibration, frequency, timbre, harmonics and the physiology of the voice.<sup>29</sup> In addition, Bžškean introduces the concept of musical notation, as well as offering some fragmentary speculations on the interpretation of the *xaz* and a brief description of the modes of Armenian church music.<sup>30</sup> Part B is a detailed technical explication of the system of Hampartsum notation, dealing with pitch, duration, ornamentation and other signs giving performance directions.<sup>31</sup> This is not only the earliest description of Hampartsum notation but also the most detailed, providing a key to the interpretation of dozens of manuscript collections of both Armenian church music and secular Ottoman music. Furthermore, although the treatise is written in

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<sup>25</sup> Letter from Minas Bžškean to Manuēl Ĵaxjaxeian, dated 10 June 1816 (cited in Kerovpyan 1997, 5).

<sup>26</sup> A synopsis of the contents of *Eražštut'iwn* is also found in Vardoumian's review of the published edition (Vardoumian 1998).

<sup>27</sup> Bžškean 1997, 63–72.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 72–6.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 76–92.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 92–9.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 99–125.

Armenian, Bžškean uses Turkish, Persian or Arabic words to refer to many of the phenomena he describes, thus offering a unique insight into the technical vocabulary of Ottoman music in the early nineteenth century.

The ‘supplement’ includes descriptions of various vocal genres of Armenian music, including the *meledi*, *šarakan* and *tal*.<sup>32</sup> However, the major part of this section is devoted to the genres, modes and rhythmic cycles of Ottoman music, demonstrating the extent to which the early development of Hampartsum notation – ostensibly intended for use in the Armenian Church – was entangled with local musical practices in Istanbul.<sup>33</sup> The supplement also includes a brief comparison of Ottoman *makams* and the modes of Armenian church music, and concludes with some remarks on musical cosmology and the effects of music on the human body.<sup>34</sup> The appendix contains an index of musical terms (which are given in both Armenian and Armeno-Turkish) and acoustic and physiological diagrams related to Part A.<sup>35</sup> In addition, it contains a number of musical examples in Hampartsum notation, including scalar exercises, excerpts from Armenian hymns, illustrations of the principal Ottoman *makams*, an example of a *taksim* (improvisation), and a *peşrev* and *semai* by the Greek Orthodox composer Kemani Corci (d. ca. 1775).<sup>36</sup> These are the earliest known examples of Ottoman music written in Hampartsum notation. Finally, the appendix provides a notated table of Ottoman rhythmic cycles.<sup>37</sup>

*Eražštut‘iwn* is important for several reasons. For scholars of Armenian church music, it provides the earliest account of the reformed notation system while also offering glimpses of the historical situation of Armenian liturgical music in early nineteenth-century Istanbul. Yet the treatise is arguably of even greater significance for the history of Ottoman music. Bžškean presents detailed information on Ottoman musical practices at the beginning of the nineteenth century, including descriptions of the pitch system, modes, rhythmic cycles, genres and ornamentation, much of which is not found in any other source. This information is supplemented by a comprehensive explanation of the system of Hampartsum notation and several valuable musical examples. In terms of its level of detail and the insight it provides into contemporary musical practices, *Eražštut‘iwn* is comparable to Dimitrie Cantemir’s treatise

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 126–31.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 132–48.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 137–8, 142–3, 149–50.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 151–7.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 158–64.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 165–7.



written a century earlier, and fills a lacuna between the work of Abdülbaki Nasır Dede in the 1790s and the more numerous sources of the late nineteenth century.

While an analysis of this material is beyond the scope of the present thesis, there are further reasons why *Eražštut'wn* should be considered as a major source for the history of Ottoman music. Firstly, it presents the earliest and most explicit account of the genesis of Hampartsum notation, written by one of the protagonists during and/or immediately following the events. Secondly, *Eražštut'wn* demonstrates the links between musical reform in Istanbul, the growing prominence of Armenian elites in Ottoman urban society, and the cultural and intellectual revival led by the Mxit'arists. Thirdly, Bžškean's treatise sheds light on the various influences that shaped discourses of musical reform amongst Ottoman musicians and intellectuals during the early nineteenth century.

By analysing *Eražštut'wn* in relation to theoretical texts produced in other Ottoman communities, including Turkish- and Greek-language sources, we can attempt to understand the interactions, commonalities and distinctions between the musico-intellectual worlds of these different sectors of Ottoman urban society. Moreover, *Eražštut'wn* demonstrates how aspects of Enlightenment thought were translated into non-European contexts, and more specifically how they came to provide a reference point for debates about musical reform in Ottoman Istanbul. These dimensions of Bžškean's treatise are explored in more detail in the remaining sections of this chapter and in Chapters Three and Four. However, before discussing the invention of Hampartsum notation and its relation to the Mxit'arist revival, I will first introduce Bžškean's principal collaborator, Hambarjum Limōnčean, the musician who came to be most closely associated with the notation system.

## 2.2. An Ottoman Armenian Musician: Hambarjum Limōnčean

The most important source of information on the life of Hambarjum Limōnčean (Tr. 'Baba' Hamparsum Limonciyan, 1768–1839) is a memoir he wrote in Armeno-Turkish in 1837. Although the current location of the manuscript is unknown, at the turn of the twentieth century it belonged to Onnik Šalčean, a secretary at the Ottoman treasury and the son of one of Limōnčean's students, Aristakēs Yovhannēsean (1812–78).<sup>38</sup> Excerpts from the manuscript

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<sup>38</sup> Angeleay 1903, 79. According to Angeleay, the manuscript was given to Onnik Šalčean by another of Limōnčean's students, the printer Yovhannēs Miwhēntisean (1810–91). For information on Miwhēntisean and Yovhannēsean, see *ibid.*, 106–7 and Hisarlean 1914, 53–5, 70–76. On Miwhēntisean's activities as a printer, see

were translated and published in Armenian in 1903 by ‘A. Angeleay’ (probably a pseudonym for Aršak Alpoyačean), and in 1914 by Aristakēs Hisarlean.<sup>39</sup> As well as Limōnčean’s memoir, both Angeleay and Hisarlean base their biographies of the musician on an unpublished manuscript on Ottoman Armenian musicians prepared by Šalčean, and record details of Limōnčean’s life transmitted by students and descendants who were still alive in the late nineteenth century. In addition, a short biography was published in the Mxit‘arist journal *Bazmavēp* in 1873 by Eduard Hiwrmwzean, another former student of Limōnčean.<sup>40</sup> Taken together, these sources provide us with a detailed picture of Limōnčean’s life and musical activities.

Limōnčean’s parents immigrated to Istanbul from Xarberd (present-day Elazığ) in eastern Anatolia. The family were Catholic, though not wealthy, and lived in the Çukur neighbourhood in Pera, where Limōnčean was apprenticed to a local tailor.<sup>41</sup> Limōnčean became a cantor (*tirac‘u*) after studying with a Greek musician known as Onouphrios of Tatavla, who taught at the Armenian patriarchal music school; another of his teachers was the cantor ‘Zenne’ Pōłos Varžapetean (1746–1826).<sup>42</sup> His talents were recognised by Yovhannēs Tiwzean, who gave him a room at the family’s residence in Kuruçeşme and employed him as a music teacher at the Mxit‘arist school in Galata, where he taught groups of 20–25 boys, twice a week.<sup>43</sup> Around 1795, he married a woman named Tuti, with whom he had six children. After the downfall of the Tiwzean family in 1819, Limōnčean found another patron, the imperial architect Grigor

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Teotig 2012, 97–105. I was unable to locate any further information about Onnik Šalčean, who does not appear in Kevork Pamukciyan’s comprehensive biographical dictionary (Pamukciyan 2002–2003, IV).

<sup>39</sup> Angeleay 1903, 79–80; Hisarlean 1914, 56–8. On the identity of ‘A. Angeleay’, see Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 94. Angeleay’s essay is summarised and translated in Aubry 1903, 287–8.

<sup>40</sup> Hiwrmwzean 1873. Hiwrmwzean’s article is reproduced with commentary in Tntesean 1874, 92–8, and is the basis for the biographical details given in Komitas Vardapet 1897. More recently, it has been translated into French by Léon Ketcheyan (Hiwrmwzean 1986–7). Lewond Tayean reports that Hiwrmwzean studied with Limōnčean in his youth (Tayean 1927, 59).

<sup>41</sup> Angeleay writes that the family lived ‘behind Pera’s Ağa Camii, in a place called Çukur’ (Angeleay 1903, 90), while Hisarlean refers to ‘Çukur Street’ (Hisarlean 1914, 7). Ağa Camii (also known as Hüseyin Ağa Camii) is a mosque located on the Grand Rue de Pera/İstiklal Caddesi, and was used to refer to the surrounding area in the nineteenth century: in *Agapi Hik‘eayēsi*, for example, the Catholic Armenian grandee Andon Ağa is described as living on ‘Ağa camisi [sic] caddesi’ (Vartan Paşa 1991, 7). See also Okçuoğlu 1993–5. Çukur Mahallesi/Sokağı is located in today’s Tarlabası district, some distance from the more upmarket Grand Rue de Pera (Uçar 2010, 234–5).

<sup>42</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 8. Limōnčean’s study with Zenne Pōłos is refuted by Komitas, but this is based on an error regarding his dates (which he gives as 1646–1726) (see Ketcheyan’s comments in Komitas Vardapet 1986–7, 497n5). Although ‘zenne’ is a term for a cross-dressing man in Ottoman theatre, suggesting that he may have been involved in other types of urban entertainment (see Kılıç 2014), Ertlbauer maintains that this nickname stems from the high ‘girl-like’ pitch of Pōłos’ singing voice (Ertlbauer 1985, 251–2). Komitas mentions that Limōnčean may also have learned sacred music from an Armenian musician named Masxalači (Komitas Vardapet 1897, 221). ‘Onouphrios of Tatavla’ could not be identified.

<sup>43</sup> Hiwrmwzean 1873, 53.

Palean (Tr. Krikor Balyan, 1764–1831), for whom he worked as a scribe until the latter died in 1831; according to Angeley, Palean helped Limōnčean build a new house after a fire in Pera in the same year.<sup>44</sup>

In 1832, Limōnčean decided to go into business with his son Zenop, importing foodstuffs, tobacco, oil and bitumen from cities on the Black Sea coast and selling them from a store in Galata. However, he lost his capital after the ship transporting his goods sank before it reached Istanbul. With the assistance of the *amiras* Martiros Saxayean and Yarut'iwñ Pēzčean, Limōnčean was employed to teach music at the Armenian patriarchal school in 1832–3, but was ousted shortly afterwards due to resistance to the new notation system on the part of other cantors and Armenian notables.<sup>45</sup> In the last years of his life, Limōnčean came under the protection of Mkrtič Čēzayirlean (Tr. Mıgırdiç Cezayirliyan, 1805–61), who was also the patron of one of his students, Abisołom Iwt'iwčean (Tr. Apisoğom Ütüciyan, 1818–47). Čēzayirlean installed him in a house close to his own residence in Hasköy in 1833–4.<sup>46</sup> Limōnčean continued to teach at the Church of St Stephen in the same district, and to supervise choristers in Armenian churches in various other parts of Istanbul. He completed his memoir two years before he died in 1839, and was buried at the Armenian Cemetery of St James (Surb Yakob) in Şişli.<sup>47</sup>

Limōnčean wrote his memoir in Armeno-Turkish rather than the learned Armenian of the religious elite, suggesting that he was not highly educated, at least compared to scholars such as Bžškean.<sup>48</sup> Nonetheless, the esteem in which he was held on account of his musical ability is demonstrated by the fact that the Tiwzeans commissioned his portrait as an old man.<sup>49</sup> Limōnčean's rise from humble origins illustrates both the social mobility provided by the institutional framework of the Armenian Church, and a broader situation within the Ottoman

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<sup>44</sup> Angeley 1903, 91. According to Hiwrmwzean, Limōnčean was employed by Grigor Palean in his youth (Hiwrmwzean 1873, 52–3). Since Grigor Palean died in 1831, another member of the Palean family may have helped Limōnčean build the house in Pera. See Wharton 2015 and Tuğlacı 1990 for more information on the Paleans.

<sup>45</sup> Hisarlean and Angeley both write that Limōnčean replaced his former teacher Onouphrios of Tatavla, though it would appear doubtful that the latter was still teaching at the patriarchal music school at such a late date (Angeley 1903, 90; Hisarlean 1914, 16). Angeley mentions only Saxayean in relation to Limōnčean's position at the school (Angeley 1903, 91), while Hisarlean writes that he enjoyed the patronage of several *amiras*, including Saxayean, Harut'iwñ Pēzčean and Mkrtič Čēzayirlean (Hisarlean 1914, 16–17).

<sup>46</sup> Angeley 1903, 91; Hisarlean 1914, 56.

<sup>47</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 59; Angeley 1903, 91. According to Hisarlean, in 1914 the precise location of Limōnčean's grave was unknown.

<sup>48</sup> Limōnčean's spoken language as recorded by Hisarlean reflects a colloquial dialect of Armenian with a strong admixture of Turkish (see e.g. Hisarlean 1914, 15).

<sup>49</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 18. The portrait is frequently reproduced, and is now part of the private Yapı Kredi collection in Istanbul (see Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 94). According to Kevork Pamukciyan, it was first published in the lyric anthology *Hānende* in 1901–2 (Pamukciyan 2002–2003, IV, 291; cf. Aḥmed 'Avnī 1317/1901, zeyl no. 1).

music world. By the seventeenth century, it was not unusual for Ottoman musicians to have an artisanal background, as indicated by patronymics such as Taşçızade ('son of the stonecutter') or Sütçüzade ('son of the milkman')<sup>50</sup> – indeed, the name Limōnčean means 'son of the lemon seller'. Although Limōnčean was Catholic, he sang regularly in Orthodox Armenian churches, showing that despite ongoing political and religious disputes Catholic and Orthodox Armenians still had contact on an everyday level in the early nineteenth century.<sup>51</sup>

Limōnčean's life thus demonstrates the mobility of Ottoman musicians in a number of ways: as the son of a poor Anatolian immigrant, he was able to mix with Armenian religious elites and the wealthiest families of Istanbul by virtue of his musical ability, while as a church singer he moved easily between Catholic and Orthodox Armenian environments, and between numerous districts of the city, from the European quarters of Pera and Galata, to the waterfront palaces of the Bosphorus, to the local non-Muslim neighbourhoods of Fener, Kumkapı and Hasköy. Moreover, apart from his musical life Limōnčean was involved in other spheres of activity, such as his scribal work for Grigor Palean and his business venture importing goods from the Black Sea region, while his links with the Armenian notables of the day provide a further reminder of the material and social bases that supported new musical developments.

Limōnčean is usually celebrated by Armenian scholars for his contributions to Armenian church music, yet he was at least equally active in other musical traditions of Ottoman Istanbul. While there are a number of sacred compositions attributed to Limōnčean (including a large-scale para-liturgical ode composed for the forty days of Easter), 'he gave more importance to urban-secular music than to the music of the Church.'<sup>52</sup> By his own account, Limōnčean was educated in (Middle) Byzantine notation and chant (*ip'salt'ik'a*), which he may have learned from Onouphrios and/or by frequenting Greek Orthodox churches.<sup>53</sup> In addition, he was a

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<sup>50</sup> Feldman 1996, 77–8; Behar 2006b, 396–7. Feldman and Behar are both drawing here on the biographical dictionary of musicians composed by Şeyhülislam Esad Efendi (1685–1753) in 1728–30 (cf. Behar 2010, 158–63). Examples of Ottoman Armenian musicians contemporary with Limōnčean whose names indicate artisanal origin include his students Petros Č'ēōmlēkčean (Tr. Bedros Çömlekciyan, 1785–1840), the 'son of the potter', and Abisołom Iwt'iwčean (Tr. Apisoğom Ütüciyan, 1818–47), the 'son of the ironer'.

<sup>51</sup> Angeleay 1903, 90.

<sup>52</sup> Angeleay 1903, 91. The ode or *tal* is entitled 'Yareaw K'ristos' and was composed in 40 different modal sections corresponding to the 40 days between the resurrection and ascension of Christ. Although according to Angeleay only six or seven parts had survived, a greater number are known amongst contemporary Armenian church musicians. An excerpt of the piece, reportedly from an autograph manuscript by Limōnčean, is reproduced in Hisarlean 1914, 60. Another well-known ode of Limōnčean's is 'Hamemat K'ez', also mentioned by Hisarlean (*ibid.*, 17) and frequently performed today. My thanks to Haig Utidjian for bringing these works to my attention. There are many Turkish-language compositions ascribed to Limōnčean by later tradition, though their provenance is uncertain. See the list in Öztuna 1990, I, 326, which seems to be derived principally from Aḥmed 'Avnī 1317/1901.

<sup>53</sup> Angeleay 1903, 79, 90. See Chapter Three for further discussion.

*tanbur* player and learned the Ottoman repertoire of ‘*bestes*, *peşrevs* and *ilahis*’ from ‘dervish musicians and the masters of the Sufi lodges’.<sup>54</sup> Although Limōnčean is sometimes referred to as a student of the famous Mevlevi musician İsmail Dede Efendi (1778–1846), this seems unlikely due to the fact that he was ten years his senior.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, it is possible that he had occasional contact with Dede Efendi; Hisarlean records an anecdote about Limōnčean impressing him by listening to a performance at the Mevlevi lodge in Beşiktaş and transcribing it immediately into Hampartsum notation.<sup>56</sup>

A similar story involves the Jewish *tanbur* player İsak (d. after 1807), a celebrated musician at the court of Selim III. According to Hisarlean, Limōnčean asked İsak to teach him his *beyati peşrev*, but the latter refused, claiming that it would be too difficult for Limōnčean to memorise. After arranging for İsak to give a private concert for an *amira* while he listened secretly, Limōnčean notated the entire piece and sang it back faultlessly. İsak was humiliated and left in a rage, shouting, ‘You stole my art, Hambarjum!’<sup>57</sup> According to yet another anecdote, Limōnčean demonstrated to a Mevlevi *şeyh* that one of his students could learn a difficult *beste* in 20 minutes by means of notation, while the *şeyh* had spent eight days fruitlessly trying to teach it to his own students.<sup>58</sup>

Apart from these possibly apocryphal encounters with Mevlevi or court musicians, there is further evidence of Limōnčean’s involvement in secular Ottoman music in other contexts. According to Šalčean’s unpublished manuscript, the Tiwzeans frequently invited famous musicians to their *yahı* in Kuruçeşme, where Limōnčean had the opportunity to hear the master singers (*hanendes*) of the time.<sup>59</sup> Following the same source (as well as an oral communication from Limōnčean’s youngest daughter, Elisabet’), Hisarlean relates that Limōnčean used to give lessons on the *tanbur* to students who visited his house, where he would often play, accompanied by his son Zenop on the *ney* (reed flute) and his student Petros Č’ēōmlēkčean on the *keman* (violin), attracting a crowd of listeners who would gather outside the house.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Angeleay 1903, 90.

<sup>55</sup> See e.g. Jäger 2005, 168–9; Reinhard and Reinhard 1984, 70–71; Reinhard 1973, 25; Öztuna 1990, I, 325; İnal 1958, 188–9. Başer (2014) asserts that Limōnčean was ‘encouraged’ by Deli İsmail Dede (1808–60?), ignoring the fact that the latter was even younger than İsmail Dede Efendi.

<sup>56</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 13. Hisarlean seems to have confused Beşiktaş Mevlevihanesi with the lodge in Yenikapı, which was the main site of Dede Efendi’s musical activities (see Behar 2015, 142–55). Cf. Başer 2014.

<sup>57</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 12–13.

<sup>58</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 44.

<sup>59</sup> Cited in Hisarlean 1914, 9.

<sup>60</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 19–20. A similar story is related by Hiwrmwzean, who writes that when Limōnčean gave lessons at the Mxit’arist school in Galata, ‘the street in front of the hall was filled with madrasa students, dervishes and the masses’ (Hiwrmwzean 1873, 53).

According to Hiwrmiwzean, Limōnčean taught using the conventional method of Ottoman musical transmission, beating the rhythmic cycles on the knees (using the onomatopoeic syllables *düm* and *tek*) in order to memorise the melodies.<sup>61</sup> As discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, this would seem to indicate that the use of Hampartsum notation did not replace oral transmission methods even amongst its most fervent advocates.

In his memoir, Limōnčean claims that he had many students ‘both from the [Armenian] nation, and from other nations’, though only the names of his Armenian students are recorded.<sup>62</sup> Following the example of their teacher, Limōnčean’s students were active both in the Armenian cantorial tradition and in the wider Ottoman music world, to which they made significant contributions during the nineteenth century. Petros Č‘ēōmlēkčean (Tr. Bedros Çömlekçiyan, 1785–1840) and Tanburi Alik’san (Tr. Tanburi Aleksan, 1815–64) are both known as successful performers and composers in the secular Ottoman tradition.<sup>63</sup> Signalling the rising power of Cairo as an economic, military and cultural rival to Istanbul during the nineteenth century, Tanburi Alik’san was invited to Egypt for five years (1854–9) by the Ottoman *vali*, Mehmed Said Paşa (1822–63).<sup>64</sup> Similarly, Limōnčean’s son Neyzen Zenop (1810–66) spent the last years of his life in Cairo, where he was also employed by Said Paşa.<sup>65</sup>

Other students of Limōnčean, like many Armenians during the nineteenth century, were involved in printing and publishing in the Ottoman capital. Yovhannēs Miwhēntisean (Tr. Hovhannes Mühendisiyan, 1810–91), who ran a highly productive printing house in Istanbul, developed movable types for Hampartsum notation<sup>66</sup>, while Aristakēs Yovhannēsean (Tr. Aristakes Hovhannisiyan, 1812–78) was the first person to publish Ottoman music in European staff notation in Istanbul in 1858.<sup>67</sup> Yovhannēsean is believed to have modified the original

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<sup>61</sup> Hiwrmiwzean 1873, 53. Despite the obviously Ottoman–Turkish provenance of the term ‘düm tek’, Hiwrmiwzean interprets this as an emulation of European teaching methods, rather than a borrowing from Ottoman musical culture. Pierre Aubry, ironically, seems to take the opposite view: ‘le *dumtek* des Turcs [est] le temps que les Orientaux, moins cultivés que les Arméniens, battent en frappant de la main sur le genou.’ (Aubry 1903, 141), while at the same time associating the practice with the Greek *chronos*. Komitas writes that Limōnčean introduced more refined movements involving the feet, hands and fingers, and, like Hiwrmiwzean, implausibly claims that it was Limōnčean who named the method ‘düm tek’ (Komitas Vardapet 1897, 222). See also Tntesean 1874, 97; Angeley 1903, 90; Hisarlean 1914, 36.

<sup>62</sup> In Angeley 1903, 80. Cf. Hisarlean 1914, 58.

<sup>63</sup> On Č‘ēōmlēkčean, see Hisarlean 1914, 34–8 and Angeley 1903, 91; on Tanburi Alik’san, see Hisarlean 1914, 46–53 and Angeley 1903, 92.

<sup>64</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 52. On cultural rivalry and interaction between Cairo and Istanbul in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Mestyan 2011.

<sup>65</sup> Angeley 1903, 91; Hisarlean 1914, 38–42.

<sup>66</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 53–5; Teotig 2012, 97–105.

<sup>67</sup> For Yovhannēsean’s biography, see Angeley 1903, 106–7 and Hisarlean 1914, 61 ff. See Chapter Seven for further discussion of Ottoman music printing.

system of Hampartsum notation to create the more easily readable form that is encountered in the majority of extant manuscripts (i.e. those from the second half of the nineteenth century) (see Figures 1 and 2).<sup>68</sup> Together with Limōnčean's other students, Yovhannēsean was also instrumental in propagating the new notation system after Limōnčean's death, leading to its more widespread use amongst Ottoman musicians in the last decades of the nineteenth century, which was probably linked to the standardisation and systematisation of the notation method, especially with regards to rhythmic values.

The details of Limōnčean's life illustrate the complex interrelationships that existed between diverse social groups, physical environments and cultural practices in the Ottoman capital. Limōnčean was not only an Armenian cantor, but also a *tanbur* player and composer of secular Ottoman music, as well as a student of Byzantine chant; he not only performed and taught in the churches and private residences of Istanbul, but was also closely tied to the transimperial elites who orchestrated the Mxit'arist cultural revival. Indeed, local actors such as Limōnčean provided a vital link between the intellectual ideals of the Mxit'arists and the everyday cultural practices of Armenians in the urban centres of the Ottoman Empire. In the following sections, by comparing Limōnčean's account of the emergence of Hampartsum notation with that of Bžškean, I will demonstrate that the rationalism and proto-nationalism associated with the Mxit'arist movement were not simply abstract intellectual formations, but were also beginning to shape the world views of practising Ottoman musicians.

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<sup>68</sup> The earliest manuscripts (such as that shown in Figure 1) are written in a form of the notation system that is sometimes referred to as 'gizli' (Tr. 'hidden, secret') or 'işaretsiz' (Tr. 'signless') (Ezgi 1933–53, V, 530), which uses a minimal number of symbols (placed above pitch signs) to indicate rhythmic values, thus making their interpretation more dependent on the performer or transcriber (see Chapter Six for a discussion of the extant manuscripts and their typology). By contrast, later manuscripts use a full range of signs that precisely and unambiguously indicate rest and note durations (see Figure 2). Although Yovhannēsean is usually credited with introducing these signs (see e.g. Ertlbauer 1985, 265–7; Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 99), most of them are already described in detail in Bžškean's treatise (1997, 107–112), though in some cases with a somewhat different meaning from the later 'standardised' system described in notation tutors by T'aščean (1874) and Erzneanc' (1880). Yovhannēsean should therefore probably be regarded as contributing to the standardisation of the notation system, rather than as introducing a significant innovation. The fact that some manuscripts from the second half of the nineteenth century use the apparently older 'gizli' system points towards the personal and indeed 'secretive' nature of writing practices amongst Ottoman musicians (see Chapters Four and Seven for further discussion). .



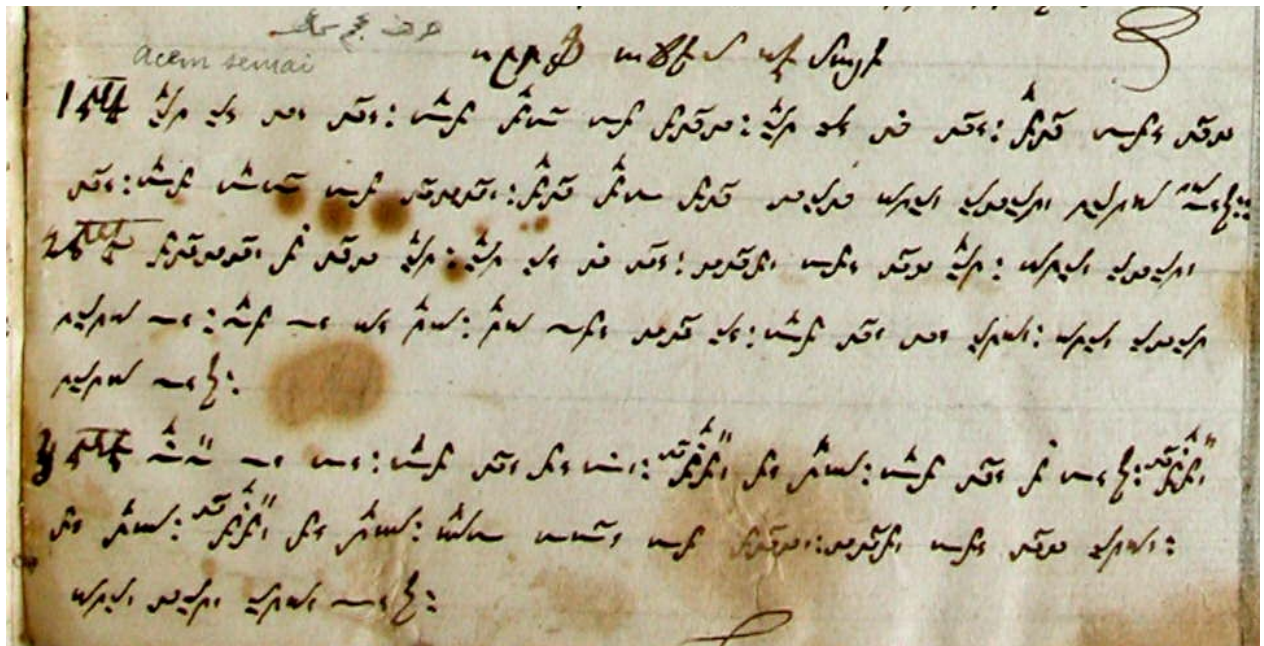


Figure 1: Detail from an early collection of Ottoman music in Hampartsum notation (before 1839) (İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, Ms. 203-1, p. 3)

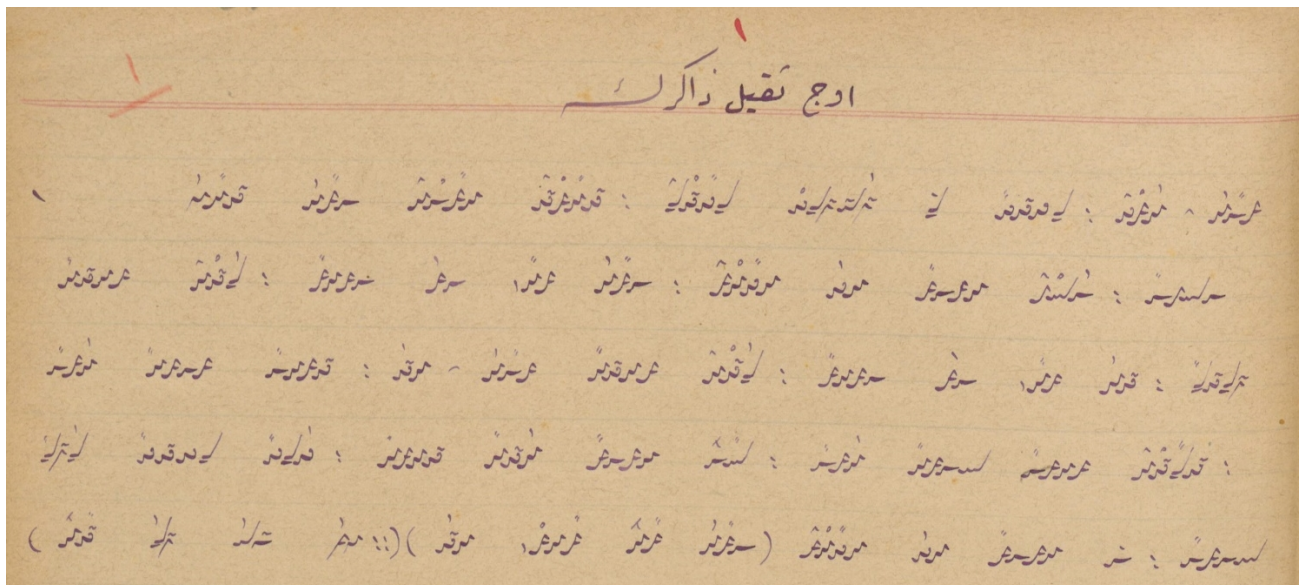


Figure 2: Detail from a late collection of Ottoman music in Hampartsum notation (ca. 1900) (İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, Ms. 204-2, p. 1)



### 2.3. The Genesis of Hampartsum Notation

Limōnčean's account of the invention of Hampartsum notation (which, until the publication of Bžškean's treatise, was the only available primary evidence) was written in 1837, though not published until the beginning of the twentieth century. The following passage presents his description of events:

This art of writing music was invented at the mansion of the Tiwzeans; I myself, Hambarjum the cantor, created the forms of the signs, but it was imperfect; since Yakob Çelebi knew European notation well and his uncle Anton knew Ottoman music well, and I also knew Greek neumes (*ip 'salt 'ik 'a*), the three of us refined it together, and we brought it to this state with the help of God.<sup>69</sup>

The relevant passage in Bžškean's treatise, written in 1812, broadly confirms Limōnčean's version, but is considerably more detailed and worth quoting in full:

Thus, since long ago Anton Çelebi of the noble Tiwzean family had devoted himself to this art [i.e. notation] by reflecting on it in various ways, in order to establish a rule so that he could write down the melodies he taught and transmit them to later generations, so that this invention would cause them to remain amongst the people, so that gradually those who are clever and intelligent, by applying themselves, would cause [notation] to flourish. This was also the praiseworthy desire of his brother, the late Yovhannēs Amira Tiwzean. However, according to the saying "One hand does not make a sound", because it could not be completed by one musician, it remained imperfect at that time. Accordingly, the cantor Hambarjum also applied himself to this matter for a long time, and learned the neumes and signs of Greek music very well, desiring that the use of neumes and signs should also be introduced amongst our people; but their neumes and also their music being imperfect, he made a great effort but was able to reap little profit.

Finally, when Yakob Çelebi Tiwzean returned from Paris, where, by his intelligence, he had become very learned in European music, they were more enthused, and these three musicians came together and attained their desire; and then the fourth [Bžškean] was added, who knew Armenian music. And thus, by these people coming together, our [treatise on] music was brought forth, composed in the year of our Lord 1812, at the request of Noble Anton Amira Tiwzean; but alas! Woe! For his premature death came and prevented its publication for such a long time, and his praiseworthy desire was left incomplete.<sup>70</sup>

Taking these two accounts together, we can establish a number of facts regarding the genesis of Hampartsum notation.<sup>71</sup> Although Limōnčean was a central actor in these events, he

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<sup>69</sup> In Angeley 1903, 79.

<sup>70</sup> Bžškean 1997, 73–4.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Aram Kerovpyan's discussion of the events in his introduction to Bžškean's treatise (K'erovbean 1997, 22–5) and Kerovpyan and Yilmaz 2010, 88–93.

was not, as is commonly assumed, the sole inventor of the new writing system. Rather, it was developed over a considerable period of time and involved the contributions of several individuals. Encouraged by Yovhannēs Tiwzean, Limōnčean collaborated with Anton and Yakob Tiwzean to create the new system during meetings at the Tiwzeans' mansion in Kuruçeşme. The notation system thus emerged from the socio-cultural environment surrounding the Tiwzean family and the individuals they patronised. Bžškean, who is not mentioned in Limōnčean's account, appears to have joined the enterprise at a later stage. According to his own version of events, he contributed his knowledge of Armenian church music, though surely more important was his effort to document and publish the new notation system in his musical treatise.

Since *Eražštut' iwn* was composed in 1812, Hampartsum notation was invented before this date, though it seems to have been in gestation for some time prior to this. However, there is no mention by either Limōnčean or Bžškean of Selim III, who was dethroned in 1807 and executed the following year, making it unlikely that the notation system was developed at the sultan's behest. If Selim did support the early stages of the endeavour in some way (perhaps through personal contact with the Tiwzeans), his contribution was evidently not significant enough to merit acknowledgement in Bžškean's treatise. It is more probable, as Kerovpyan and Yılmaz have argued, that this story results from a confusion with Abdülbaki Dede's treatise on notation of 1794, which was in fact dedicated to Selim III.<sup>72</sup>

Despite the evidence that several individuals contributed to the development of the new notation system, it has come to be associated exclusively with Limōnčean. This may be attributed partly to the fact that Bžškean's treatise remained unpublished during his lifetime. As mentioned earlier, two copies of the manuscript were sent to San Lazzaro for publication in 1815, and thus did not circulate further in Istanbul. Moreover, Bžškean left for Trabzon in the same year, and was soon busy with teaching, ministering and writing books on other subjects. Yovhannēs and Anton Tiwzean died in 1812 and 1814, respectively, while the other protagonist, Yakob Tiwzean, was exiled to Kayseri between 1819 and 1822, and in any case was not a professional musician. Limōnčean, on the other hand, spent most of his life in Istanbul, where – as discussed above – he was an active performer and teacher of music with many students, several of whom made efforts to refine and disseminate the new notation system after his death. As he implies in his memoir, he may also have had greater input into the early

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<sup>72</sup> Kerovpyan and Yılmaz, 2010, 92–3. See Usul and Doğrusöz Dişiaçık 2009 for a modern edition of the treatise.

development of the system, and was a vocal advocate of its use in the Armenian Church (see below), all of which led to a closer association of the notation system with Limōnčean.

Nonetheless, whatever the extent of Limōnčean's contribution, it is clear that Hampartsum notation was not the product of a single individual's efforts, but resulted from the confluence of the Tiwzeans' patronage (and active musical interests), the practical concerns of musicians such as Limōnčean, and the reformist ideas that emanated from San Lazzaro and were propagated by Mxit'arist scholars including Bžškean. The idea of notational reform thus emerged not from the Ottoman court or a modernising bureaucracy, nor from a heroic individual or as the expression of national character, but from the intellectual and cultural milieu of elite Armenian society in early nineteenth-century Istanbul, and more specifically from the Catholic Armenian circles in contact with San Lazzaro.

## 2.4. Notational Reform and the Mxit'arist Revival

Having established the main characters and events surrounding the invention of Hampartsum notation, we now turn to a consideration of the broader intellectual and cultural currents that shaped their ideas about musical reform. What motivated Bžškean, Limōnčean and the Tiwzeans to develop a new method of writing music, and how did this relate to their other activities and social connections? We have seen how Bžškean and members of the Tiwzean family were important figures in the Mxit'arist movement, as producers of books and journals and supporters of educational institutions. Yet how did notions of enlightenment, rationalism and cultural revival, as promoted by the scholars of San Lazzaro and their patrons, specifically relate to musical practices in the Ottoman capital?

The writings of Bžškean and Limōnčean demonstrate that major themes of the Armenian cultural revival, which gathered momentum from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, also surfaced in debates about musical practice. One indicator of this is Bžškean's invocation of classical Armenian authors, who, as symbols of the past greatness of Armenian intellectual and cultural life, formed the backbone of the scholarly project at San Lazzaro. The Armenian scholars cited in *Eražštut'iwn* all belong to late antiquity or the medieval period: the Neoplatonist philosopher Dawit' Anyałt' ('David the Invincible', sixth century)<sup>73</sup>; the historian

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<sup>73</sup> The epigraph to the introduction of *Eražštut'iwn* (Bžškean 1997, 63), which posits the Thracians as the inventors of music, is taken from *Sahmank' ew tramatut'iwnk' imastasirut'ean* ('Definitions and divisions of philosophy'), a philosophical treatise attributed to David the Invincible, who is also cited by Bžškean at *ibid*, 64 and 72. For an English translation of the *Definitions* with parallel Armenian text, see David the Invincible

Movses Xorenac'i (fifth/eighth century)<sup>74</sup>; the archbishop of Tarsus, Nerses Lambronac'i (1153–98)<sup>75</sup>, and the historian Step'anos Ōrbēlean (ca. 1250–1305)<sup>76</sup>. In some senses, Bžškean's treatise echoes the Armenian texts that he draws on as authoritative sources for the history of music and its cultural, religious and psychological significance, and thus builds on pre-modern traditions of scholarship. The question-and-answer structure of *Eražštut'iwn*, for example, in accordance with the conventions of classical philosophy or Christian scholasticism, is also typical of medieval Armenian treatises.<sup>77</sup>

Bžškean's lack of references to recent Armenian literature may be seen to reflect a decline in cultural production within the Armenian diaspora in the post-medieval period – a trope which was (and is) central to reformist discourse. While the historical veracity of this narrative might be disputed, it was nonetheless the perception of decline and dispersal that motivated Mxit'arist scholars to attempt to build a sense of national unity and self-esteem by reviving the texts and scholarly traditions of the late antique and medieval periods of Armenian history. Glimpses of this mentality can be seen throughout *Eražštut'iwn*, especially in relation to Armenian history and sacred music. Bžškean aims to demonstrate that the Armenians have an ancient and distinguished past. After discussing music during the biblical era, for example, he argues that 'if the Chaldeans and Assyrians were skilled in music, the Armenians must have been even more skilled; because amongst Eastern peoples, in ancient times the Armenians were more clear-sighted and more civilised.'<sup>78</sup> The description of music amongst the early Armenian kings that follows is based on Movses Xorenac'i's late classical history, which, when it appeared in print in 1695, contributed to a renewed sense of the Armenians' historical significance and classical heritage.<sup>79</sup>

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Philosopher 1983 (the passage quoted by Bžškean as an epigraph is found on p. 133). For detailed information on David's life and works, see Calzolari and Barnes 2009. A discussion of his writings in relation to music is found in Tahmizyan 1980; see also Nersisyan 1980, 7–9.

<sup>74</sup> Bžškean 1997, 69–70. For Xorenac'i and his history of the Armenian people (the dating of which is still disputed, ranging from the fifth to the eighth centuries), see Robert Thomson's introduction in Khorenats'i 2006.

<sup>75</sup> Bžškean 1997, 72, 131. On Lambronac'i, see Hacikyan et al 2002, 458–74.

<sup>76</sup> Bžškean 1997, 70. For more information about Ōrbēlean, see Hacikyan et al 2002, 534–6.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Vardoumian 1998, 191. This structure is also found in a fragmentary medico-musical treatise from seventeenth-century Lviv (based on a pre-thirteenth-century source): see Mahé 1997, 408–11. On the other hand, it might be noted that there was a more recent precedent for this literary form, provided by a musical treatise published in Istanbul at the turn of the nineteenth century by an Armenian scholar from Kayseri (Gapasaxalean 1803a). However, Bžškean does not mention this work, and it is unclear whether there is a direct relationship between *Eražštut'iwn* and Gapasaxalean's treatise. See Chapter Four for further discussion.

<sup>78</sup> Bžškean 1997, 69.

<sup>79</sup> Oshagan 1999, 177; Zekiyan 1997a, 335.

Yet the celebration and attempted revival of a glorious past had as its counterpart a sense of recent cultural degeneration.<sup>80</sup> Thus, although neumatic notation (*xaz*) had been used in the Armenian liturgy since at least the twelfth century, Bžškean proposes a reform (or, more accurately, a reinvention) of this system.<sup>81</sup> In the first instance, this was because knowledge of the medieval Armenian *xaz* had practically disappeared by the beginning of the nineteenth century:

As for the Armenians, having been subject to great misfortune, wandering here and there, in this art [of notation] too they remained very imperfect; because we see, in the ancient manuscripts of hymns and breviaries, a multitude of signs and neumes, but *what* pitch and value each neume has, or by *which* technique those neumes are arranged, *what* measure of time they have, and *what* concord, we do not understand clearly. Yet each musician says a different thing, that is, they do not know.<sup>82</sup>

As Bžškean suggests here, this situation was connected with the diasporic conditions of the Armenian people, which had contributed to a proliferation of performance styles and possible explanations of the *xaz*. Furthermore, the neumatic character of the *xaz* (which appear to indicate a wide range of musical and prosodic parameters) had led to an absence of consensus regarding the interpretation of signs in different melodic contexts:

And this is the reason why not every cantor in every place sings in the same way; in every land and every city they sing differently, because each degree is not distinguished with neumes. If this were the case, songs would always be sung in the same way in every place.<sup>83</sup>

A similar complaint is made by Limōnčean in the published portions of his memoir, much of which is concerned with the resistance of the Armenian religious hierarchy to the introduction of Hampartsum notation. Addressing the cantors who were unwilling to accept the new system, he writes:

You, cantor, if you give one of your students something [to learn], if you have him sing it three days later you find something else, and if he then teaches it to another person and later this person comes and sings it for you, you say that it is wrong, when not even ten days have passed ... What a shameful thing it is to say that the melodies of Nerses

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<sup>80</sup> For a detailed discussion of this narrative in the context of the neo-Hellenic Enlightenment, see Kostantaras 2006.

<sup>81</sup> Ekphonic notation was in use as early as the ninth century (Kerovpyan 2003, 16, citing an essay by At'ayan); on the early development of the *xaz*, see At'ayan 1999 and Tahmizian 1978.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 93. Kerovpyan and Utidjian both claim that knowledge of the *xaz* had all but disappeared by the eighteenth century: see Kerovpyan 2003, 26–7; idem 1991, 95; idem 2015, 171 and Utidjian 2016, 6–7.

<sup>83</sup> Bžškean 1997, 95.

Šnorhali [1102–73] are exactly the same [today]! You search for a 1000-year-old melody, but lose it by not even finding something ten days old. You do not see that we have found a way not to lose it; you cloister yourself only to dissipate your riches.<sup>84</sup>

Limōnčean believed that knowledge of the *xaz* was lost with the demise of Armenian Cilicia in the late fourteenth century, and saw the emergence of Hampartsum notation as a revival of this ancient and illustrious musical practice.<sup>85</sup> The aim of the new notation system, then, was to counter the centrifugal tendency towards diversification by creating a uniform system of musical practice. According to Bžškean:

...our desire was to establish a rule amongst the people, so that a musician would understand what he sings and plays, and write what he learns, read it as it is written and compose various melodies; [so that he would] write, [and] transmit it to others so that they can learn without effort; and not to change the melodies of our people, but to put them in order; although if the people wish, our melodies too can be ordered and taken down in writing, not so that they will be changed, but rather so that they will be sung in a uniform way in every city and every place, just as the melodies of the Europeans are.<sup>86</sup>

...when the melodies and hymns are written and, with the will of the people, are printed with this notation, in all places and at every time they will remain in that mode and will always be sung in the same way; after a thousand years have passed, they will not be changed by a hair's breadth.<sup>87</sup>

Limōnčean expresses the same idea, again railing against the conservative church singers:

The poor wretches cannot grasp that, thanks to this art which displeases them, what is written today can be performed in an identical way 1000 years from now, without shifting one iota, whereas what they perform today, they sing with different phrases tomorrow. I leave it to you to judge which is preferable: to sing according to your pleasure, or to sing regularly and uniformly, in a harmonious way.<sup>88</sup>

Elsewhere, Limōnčean describes an incident in which he is asked by one of his rivals, the cantor Elisē (1770–1833), to notate a hymn. When he is later ordered to sing it to a church superior, the latter immediately says 'This has come from the mouth of Elisē'. As Limōnčean

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<sup>84</sup> In Angeleay 1903, 79. Ellipsis in original.

<sup>85</sup> In Hisarlean 1914, 15.

<sup>86</sup> Bžškean 1997, 75.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, 147.

<sup>88</sup> In Hisarlean 1914, 57–8.

writes, he relates this story ‘in order to explain the power of notation’, which could preserve a particular rendition of a melody and enable its exact reproduction.<sup>89</sup>

Both Bžškean and Limōnčean see the introduction of the new notation system as a service to the Armenian people, a means of halting the loss of cultural heritage and building a sense of national pride. For Bžškean, the rationalisation of Armenian music through notational reform serves to increase ‘love of the people’ (*azgin sērn*), since ‘an appetite for science awakens greater patriotism (*azgasirut‘iwn*).’<sup>90</sup> That is, by raising the level of education amongst the diaspora, Armenians will be delivered from obscurity and realise their common greatness. Bžškean hopes that future generations will strive to implement his musical reforms, so that ‘henceforth our people will not seem the most imperfect amongst peoples, but instead all intelligent and brave, whether in virtue or in science.’<sup>91</sup> Putting a Neoplatonic vision at the heart of the Enlightenment ideal of rational progress, Bžškean argues that musical reform is central to the awakening of the Armenian people, ‘because, man’s soul being intelligent and rational, it is illuminated by and shines with scientific things’ in the same way that angels are glorified by ‘the beauty of harmony and order’ that is manifested in the music of the spheres.<sup>92</sup>

Limōnčean employs similar but more forceful rhetoric, interpreting his struggle to introduce notational reform against the wishes of other cantors and notables as a battle between the forces of enlightenment and the darkness of ignorance and conservatism. Protesting the obstructions he faced from within the Armenian community when he began to teach Hampartsum notation, he addresses his opponents:

Is the sun stopped by a barrier? Who is wretched? Your servant [Limōnčean] taught men who were like stones within a short time. Why do you bring affliction upon yourselves? Do not fear, I taught before God; never doubt it and do not remain deprived of such a fine art as this. Why can I not make the leaders of the nation understand the truth that they must give support to this art? You are the reason that we remain small amongst other nations.<sup>93</sup>

Opposition to the new notation system appears to have stemmed at least in part from intracommunal discord. Some of Limōnčean’s detractors pointed to his Catholicism in support of their argument that the notation system was unsuitable for adoption by the Armenian

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<sup>89</sup> In Angeley 1903, 79.

<sup>90</sup> Bžškean 1997, 75.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, 76.

<sup>93</sup> In Angeley 1903, 80.

Church,<sup>94</sup> and, as we have seen in Chapter One, there were ongoing and highly consequential disputes between different religious factions during this period. On the other hand, Limōnčean is known to have sung in Orthodox churches, and although the patriarchate was openly hostile towards Armenian Catholics, the Mxit‘arists believed firmly in reconciliation with the national church, and through their activities – including notational reform – aimed to benefit the Armenian community as a whole. Nonetheless, it is likely that the religious status of Limōnčean and his collaborators contributed to the initially unreceptive attitude of the Armenian Church and its representatives towards the reform.

Writing two years before he died at the age of seventy, Limōnčean expressed his commitment to reform for the benefit of his compatriots:

Truly, if I die, and if I do not have [too much] pain, this art will not be lost, I will bring this script into the light, gladly suffering I will work for my nation – so be it, they will see its usefulness. I swallowed many blows from the *ağas* [i.e. *amiras*], all of them – so be it, but I have some questions for the leaders of my nation: Is it a sin, is it a mistake if I wish them to forgive me? For my bones are turning to dust, if they strike me once more, I shall depart altogether.<sup>95</sup>

The introduction of Hampartsum notation was thus intended to systematise musical practices among the Armenian community, based on Enlightenment ideals of education and progress and informed by a sense of patriotism. However, a further problem for the reformers, again attributable to long periods of diasporic existence, was that Armenian church singers had adopted local performance styles that were now considered foreign or inappropriate for the Armenian liturgy. Bžškean writes that, according to Nerses Lambronac‘i, this process began during the time of the Cilician kingdom (1199–1375), when the Armenians ‘took many things from the Greeks.’<sup>96</sup> After describing the introduction of Greek practices in the medieval period, he continues:

... likewise, now too there are musicians who sing many things with Turkish melodies or in a [Turkish] fashion, by appropriating their songs (*pēstē*). Thus our melodies are tinted with foreign (*ōtar*) colours, which is not praiseworthy; because it is much better to

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid, 79.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Bžškean 1997, 72. See also *ibid*, 93. For a historical overview of the Cilician period, see Hovannisian and Payaslian 2008.



beautify a thing than to change it with foreign ways; it is better to sing with their rhythmic cycles (*usul*) and modulations (*nerdašnakut'awn*), than to change the melody.<sup>97</sup>

Similarly, in Limōnčean's view, contemporary singers had debased the music of the church by introducing foreign melodies and vocal techniques:

Some of our brother cantors are introducing various kinds of melody which are improper to the church; saying "what a good thing", they bring the style (*beran*) [lit. 'mouth'] of some singer with a beautiful voice or [the style of] a Jew, Gypsy or Bektaşî and introduce it into the church – there could not be a greater sin. And others have contrived the beautiful "boğaz nağmesi" [guttural ornamentation; lit. 'throat melody']; they do it in every place, supposing that they are doing a good thing, while there could be nothing more detestable. To blaspheme in the church would be better than that ... Saying "I'm bringing the people to devotion", they commit a great sin.<sup>98</sup>

Hampartsum notation was therefore meant not only to regularise and homogenise a diversity of musical styles – 'to put in their place those cantors who sing in such an unruly manner', as Limōnčean wrote<sup>99</sup> – but also to purify Armenian sacred music of foreign influences.

There are important parallels here with other aspects of the Armenian cultural revival, especially with regards to linguistic reform beginning in the mid-eighteenth century. Indeed, as we have seen, Bžškean himself was a leading figure in this movement: his translation of *Robinson Crusoe* (1817) and his history of the Black Sea (1819) were among the first works to be published in vernacular Armenian (*ašxarhabar*) rather than the classical language of the Church (though he also wrote in *grabar*), while he did much to advance the use of the standardised vernacular through his literary compendiums and grammars.<sup>100</sup> During the same period, the Tiwzeans promoted the vernacular by financing the publication of one of the earliest Mxit'arist journals, and at the same time contributed to the systematisation of the classical language through their patronage of grammarians such as Awetik'ean and Bagratuni.<sup>101</sup>

Like the invention of Hampartsum notation, the linguistic reform movement was motivated by a desire to revive and preserve a cultural heritage that was perceived to be in

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 131.

<sup>98</sup> In Angeleyan 1903, 79. Ellipsis in original. Cf. Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 108.

<sup>99</sup> Cited in Hisarlean 1914, 57.

<sup>100</sup> Nishanian 1989, 296–301. On the development of *grabar* during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see *ibid*, 255–266.

<sup>101</sup> See Chapter One. Pehlivanian notes that the *Byzantine Observer* (*Ditak Biwzandean*), which was financed by the Tiwzeans, was among the first Armenian periodicals to be published in the vernacular (Pehlivanian 2002, 85).

danger of disappearing, to regularise and homogenise diverse linguistic practices that had evolved over long periods in varied diasporic environments, and to purge the Armenian language of foreign words or grammatical structures. As Mxit'ar lamented in his dictionary (published in 1749), 'the vulgar language is torn and scattered into as many pieces as there are regions, or even cities and villages. This language is sometimes so decomposed that people seem to speak another language and not Armenian.'<sup>102</sup> By inscribing a rational, uniform and intelligible written language through print and education, the reformers thus hoped to contribute towards the unification of the Armenian people.

A number of scholars have shown that the promotion of a standardised written language, as a response to the obscurity and elitism of the classical language or the mutual unintelligibility of local dialects, was a central component in the evolution of Armenian nationalism: as one author wrote in a vernacular reader published in 1826, 'if you love your nation, you must know your language'.<sup>103</sup> Of course, the close relationship between (written or printed) language and nationhood is not limited to the Armenian case, but is well attested in the literature on nationalism more generally, perhaps most influentially in Benedict Anderson's formulation.<sup>104</sup> While the emergence of print capitalism in Europe created monoglot reading communities where there had been (and often continued to be) a high degree of linguistic diversity at the spoken level, the Armenian case was complicated further by wide geographic dispersion and differing levels of assimilation amongst the various diasporic communities. Thus, from the point of view of the intelligentsia, the language question was especially important as a means of identifying an Armenian nation that could not be easily delineated in terms of geographic boundaries.

However, the majority of Ottoman Armenians spoke Turkish or dialects of Armenian heavily influenced by Turkish; according to one estimate, the Armenian spoken in nineteenth-century Istanbul contained around 4000 Turkish words.<sup>105</sup> It is therefore necessary to consider the significance not only of the Armenian language, but also of the Armenian script, which, as Panossian points out, was the common element that bound together the many different local

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<sup>102</sup> Quoted in Nichanian 1999, 119–20.

<sup>103</sup> Quoted in Nichanian 1989, 299n25. For further discussion of the 'language question' in the Armenian context, see also Adalian 1992; Panossian 2006, 132–7; Zekiyan 1997b, 58–60; Aslanian 2016.

<sup>104</sup> Anderson 2006, 37–46 and *passim*.

<sup>105</sup> Nichanian 1989, 244. See *ibid*, 241–55 for a discussion of the historical development of Armenian dialects. According to Oshagan, Turkish words made up 85 per cent of the 'Armenian' spoken in the Ottoman Empire (Oshagan 1983, 59).

dialects – indeed, even Armenians who spoke only Turkish wrote using the Armenian alphabet.<sup>106</sup>

In his discussion of the necessity of notational reform, Bžškean draws a parallel with the invention of the Armenian alphabet by Mesrop Maštoc‘ at the beginning of the fifth century:

...our musicians have often wished to discover a rule so that they would be able to write Eastern melodies, in order that the melodies which have been composed would not be lost. However, a newly invented thing, since it is not yet invented, is very difficult, yet after it is discovered it appears easy and convenient to everyone. And because music [notation] resembles writing, in that writing is also organised, in the same way its formation was also difficult. Thus Saint Mesrop experienced such a degree of difficulty in attempting to adapt Greek or Syriac writing for us that it was impossible, because their way and their spelling is one thing, and our way is another. Until he invented [the alphabet] anew it could not be; and in the same way, our melodies being very different from the melodies of the Europeans, it was impossible for [our musicians] to establish a rule, and for them to write Eastern melodies with their notation (*xaz*), to the point that it became necessary to invent the musical neumes or signs anew, with a new method, with which it would be possible to read and write not only our melodies, but also the melodies of every other nation, just as every language can be written with the Armenian script – yet it might be that after it is discovered it will appear easy to those seeing it, just as appeared the discovery of America.<sup>107</sup>

Bžškean’s invocation of the Armenian alphabet here indicates a desire to link the new notation system with the ‘golden age’ of Armenian history, connected to the emergence of an independent Armenian – rather than Syriac or Greek – literary and religious culture.<sup>108</sup> The Armenian alphabet developed in parallel with the spread of Christianity and was closely associated with the institution of the Armenian Orthodox Church; for this reason, it acquired a sacred aura and, like the Church itself, came to be regarded as one of the defining symbols of Armenian identity.<sup>109</sup> In Bžškean’s view, the written signs of musical notation – also emerging from the bosom of the Church – were likewise a characteristic feature of the Armenian people that distinguished them from other nations.

The importance of writing systems, rather than languages, for the creation of distinct groups based on a common experience of learning and shared aesthetic values, often connected with religious practices, has been pointed out by David Damrosch, who terms such cultural

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<sup>106</sup> Panossian 2006, 133n5.

<sup>107</sup> Bžškean 1997, 72–3.

<sup>108</sup> For a detailed historical treatment of Mesrop Maštoc‘ and the invention of the Armenian alphabet, see Yuzbašyan 2011.

<sup>109</sup> Thomson 1997, 200–202; Panossian 2006, 44–6.

formations ‘scriptworlds’.<sup>110</sup> This concept is particularly relevant in the case of the Ottoman Empire, where many groups spoke a ‘non-national’ language (i.e. Turkish) but nonetheless formed a literary community through their use of a religiously-based script, such as Armenian, Greek, or Hebrew.<sup>111</sup> The use of distinctive scripts, which, as Damrosch puts it, ‘constituted a significant boundary against literary circulation’<sup>112</sup>, contributed to the hardening of national identities amongst the Ottoman *millets* during the nineteenth century, especially with the spread of print culture. It has also had important historiographic consequences, most notably in the formation of a ‘Turkish’ literary canon that until recently excluded Turkish-language works written in Greek, Armenian or Hebrew letters.<sup>113</sup> However, the boundaries of Ottoman scriptworlds were not impermeable; indeed, as Murat Cankara has shown, the Armenian alphabet was learned by prominent members of the Muslim literati during the later nineteenth century.<sup>114</sup> Similarly, while it might be argued that early collections of Ottoman music written in Hampartsum notation circulated exclusively amongst Armenian musicians, during the following decades this writing system was also adopted by Muslim musicians (see Part Two).

The passages from Bžškean and Limōnčean quoted above suggest that the discourse of decline due to cultural assimilation, which reached a peak at the turn of the twentieth century with the work of Komitas and is still in evidence today, has a long history. It is this narrative of cultural degeneration and dispersion, followed by a revival and recentralisation brought about by heroic figures such as Limōnčean, that is invariably emphasised in Armenian literature on Hampartsum notation. Both of Limōnčean’s translators (writing in 1903 and 1914), for example, point out the contemporary relevance of his comments about the degeneration of Armenian church music, and go on to describe the invention of Hampartsum notation as a pioneering effort to save this national tradition.<sup>115</sup> However, as we have seen, Limōnčean himself (whose autobiography was, after all, written in Turkish) was a performer, composer and teacher of secular Ottoman music, and according to Angeleay’s own account was more active in this field than in Armenian sacred music. In addition, he had studied Byzantine music and notation and had ties with the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul. Thus, as Kerovpyan and Yılmaz argue, in light of Limōnčean’s multifaceted career it is probable that his censure of

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<sup>110</sup> Damrosch 2007.

<sup>111</sup> Balta and Ölmez 2011. See Aytürk 2010 for a comparative discussion of ‘scriptworlds’ in Turkish and Hebrew contexts.

<sup>112</sup> Damrosch 2007, 200.

<sup>113</sup> Mignon 2007–8.

<sup>114</sup> Cankara 2014b.

<sup>115</sup> Angeleay 1903, 79; Hisarlean 1914, 10–11, 16.

‘foreign’ performance styles related to their inappropriate use in sacred contexts, rather than being a prejudice towards secular Ottoman music *per se*.<sup>116</sup>

In contrast to the idea that Hampartsum notation developed entirely within the context of the Armenian Church, the evidence of Bžškean’s treatise, as well as Limōnčean’s memoir, demonstrate that it evolved out of a highly plural musical and cultural environment. As we have seen, the individuals involved in the development of the new system contributed expertise from diverse music cultures, which included not only Armenian sacred music, but also Greek Orthodox chant, secular Ottoman music, and European music. In the same passage, Bžškean draws an eloquent analogy between the practice of music-making and the varied influences that were incorporated into the new notation system:

In order to bring forth this invention, which from time to time many men have worked on, it was necessary for there to be people skilled in the music of other nations; just as by the unity of various voices a melody is formed, in the same way, with the unified knowledge of the music of the Armenians, Greeks, Turks and Europeans, this [notation system] was invented.<sup>117</sup>

It is this heterogeneity that makes Bžškean’s treatise on Hampartsum notation so intriguing, and so valuable as a witness to the historical reality of musical life in early nineteenth-century Istanbul. The frequent comparison of the Armenians with other groups (such as Turks, Greeks or Europeans) by both Bžškean and Limōnčean points to the central paradox of nationalism: that closer contact between different cultures, precipitated by economic, political or technological changes, led to greater awareness of boundaries and difference. At the same time, this emergent sense of national consciousness amongst Ottoman Armenians did not, in the early nineteenth century, translate into a desire for political independence, and – as Bžškean’s treatise attests – certainly did not preclude the possibility of inhabiting overlapping cultural worlds.

On the contrary, the cosmopolitan dimensions of the Mxit‘arist movement, both in terms of the cultural background of Mxit‘arist scholars and their adoption of the universalist values of the Enlightenment, allowed the reformers to view Hampartsum notation as having significance beyond the Armenian community. Bžškean makes a number of explicit statements of the universalist intent behind the invention of the notation system. He argues, for instance, that notational reform would make it possible ‘to read and write not only our melodies, but also

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<sup>116</sup> Kerovpyan and Yilmaz 2010, 108–9.

<sup>117</sup> Bžškean 1997, 73.

the melodies of every other nation, just as every language can be written with the Armenian script.’<sup>118</sup> Elsewhere, he writes of the reformers’ desire to create a notation system ‘that would be scientific and at the same time easy to grasp for everyone. Above all, so that we would raise it to such perfection that it would not only serve our melodies, but also those of the Ottomans, Arabs and Greeks, amongst others’.<sup>119</sup>

Such statements contradict the idea that Hampartsum notation was intended for use only within the Armenian Church, and instead suggest that it was viewed by Bžškean and his collaborators as a universal means of notating the diverse musical repertoires practised in Ottoman Istanbul. Again, Bžškean’s comparison with the universality of the Armenian alphabet is not as fanciful as it might appear, given that Muslim intellectuals considered it a viable alternative to the Arabic script in the later nineteenth century. In the same way, Hampartsum notation did indeed come to be adopted amongst other Ottoman musicians, if not universally then at least to a far greater degree than previous writing systems.

The preceding discussion of the links between the emergence of Hampartsum notation and the Mxit‘arist movement highlights the importance of the Armenian community for an understanding of cultural developments in the urban centres of the Ottoman Empire. In this way, it moves debates about the history of Ottoman music beyond the narrow confines of the court and Muslim elite in Istanbul to embrace both local non-Muslim groups and the networks that connected them to institutions, practices and ideas beyond the empire. At the same time, it is crucial to recognise that the proto-nationalistic ideals of the Armenian reformers were often ambiguous or contradicted by the reality of musical life in the imperial capital. Furthermore, the Armenian cultural revival, while undoubtedly a key factor in the emergence of Hampartsum notation, was not an isolated or unique phenomenon, but shared a number of characteristics with – and, indeed, was directly influenced by – cultural and intellectual movements amongst neighbouring communities within and beyond the Ottoman Empire. In the following chapters, I will discuss the invention of Hampartsum notation in relation to three broad areas of interaction: the European Enlightenment, the reform of Greek Orthodox liturgical music and notation, and precedents in the Ottoman–Turkish musical tradition.

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> This sentence is found in the earlier draft of *Eražšut‘iwn*. See *ibid*, 73n38.



### 3. Enlightenment and Musical Reform

Hampartsum notation emerged from the interaction of a number of different material, cultural and intellectual currents. In Chapter One, I discussed the importance of changes in the urban culture of Istanbul and the transimperial networks of the Catholic Armenian community, while in Chapter Two I analysed in more detail the ideological connections between notational reform and the Mxit'arist revival. In this and the following chapters, I widen the scope of enquiry to explore the connections between the invention of Hampartsum notation and developments beyond the Armenian community. Broadly speaking, these include three main areas of influence and exchange: firstly, with Europe in the context of the Enlightenment; secondly, with the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul; and thirdly, with the tradition of secular Ottoman music. The latter is discussed in depth in the following chapters, while the present chapter is devoted to contacts between Armenian, European and Greek Orthodox musical worlds.

Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in Enlightenment Europe were often mediated through Orthodox Greeks or Armenians, who were at once representatives of the 'East' but also fellow Christians, trading partners or diplomatic allies. Ottoman Armenians such as Mouradgēa d'Ohsson or Phanariot intellectuals like Dimitrie Cantemir actively contributed to the body of knowledge surrounding the empire by publishing scholarly works in European languages on Ottoman history, politics and society. Conversely, Greek Orthodox and Armenian merchants established economic links with Europe that entailed the formation of diasporic trading communities in cities such as Venice, Trieste and Vienna. These communities became important hubs of cultural exchange, where relationships were formed between Ottoman Christians and Europeans not only in the economic sphere, but also in areas such as printing and philological or biblical scholarship.<sup>1</sup>

However, emphasis on the political dynamics behind regimes of textual or artistic representation has tended to obscure the material linkages that facilitated contact between European and Ottoman worlds. As Ian Coller and others have argued, the views of Enlightenment thinkers on Islam were shaped not only by abstract representations or self-

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<sup>1</sup> For a wide-ranging discussion of the role of urban trading diasporas in the process of cultural exchange within and beyond Europe, see Calabi and Turk Christensen 2007. For the Greek merchant diaspora in particular, see the contribution by Harris and Porphyriou (2007) in the same volume, and also the essays in Tziovas 2009.



reflexive philosophising, but also by the direct connections with the Levant that were forged through trade, diplomacy and religious activism.<sup>2</sup> Hence, Rousseau's decision to adopt 'Armenian' dress in the 1760s has typically been read in terms of orientalist appropriation and its role in the formation of modern European identity, yet little attention has been paid to the wider economic and political links that allowed the Genevan philosopher to use the services of an Armenian tailor in Montmorency.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, while Rousseau displayed a degree of sympathy with the Ottomans, other *philosophes* were more hostile towards the empire, which was increasingly perceived as a despotic Other in opposition to liberal Europe.<sup>4</sup> This discourse was closely linked to the political fate of the Christian *millets*, and to the European rediscovery of ancient Greece and its intellectual and artistic heritage.

Despite the fact that Greek Orthodox and Armenian communities were well integrated into Ottoman society at large, many European intellectuals saw the Christian population of the empire as cruelly subjugated by the 'Turks', a view reinforced both by geopolitical concerns and by the centrality of ancient Greece in the historiographical and philosophical narratives of the Enlightenment. Voltaire, for instance, wrote in 1769 that he wished 'passionately that the barbarous Turks be chased at once from the country of Xenophon, Sophocles [and] Plato.'<sup>5</sup> While there has been extensive discussion of the impact of philhellenism on the history of modern Greece and, to a lesser extent, on the Greek Orthodox communities of the Ottoman Empire, this discourse is also relevant to the history of the Armenian *millet*.

The connection in the European imagination between Orthodox Greeks and Armenians is well illustrated by the fact that Byron, the preeminent philhellene, studied Armenian at San Lazzaro in 1816–17.<sup>6</sup> Byron's teacher was Paschal Aucher, the librarian of San Lazzaro, whose

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<sup>2</sup> Coller 2014; idem 2010. See also Rothman 2013, 2012.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. During 1994, 62–3; Head 2000, 145; Edmonds and Eidinow 2007, 43–4. For a contextualisation of Rousseau's adoption of Armenian dress in relation to the role of Armenian merchants as suppliers of exotic textiles in early modern Europe, see Crowe 2008. On the relatively common use of Armenian dress as a 'laissez-passer' for European traders, travellers and missionaries in the Levant, see Gulbenkian 1994–5.

<sup>4</sup> Çirakman 2001.

<sup>5</sup> Cited in Kasaba 2003, 1 (after Augustinos 1994, 142). Although there is a large literature on philhellenism as an intellectual and aesthetic movement eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, a substantial proportion of it makes little effort to include consideration of contemporary realities in the Ottoman Empire (see e.g. Valdez 2014; Güthenke 2008; Roessel 2002; Marchand 1996; Haagsma et al 2003). For more balanced discussions that take account of the localised encounters that made philhellenist scholarship possible, as well as its political implications for Orthodox Greek communities in the Eastern Mediterranean, see Kasaba 2003; Augustinos 1994; Clogg 2003 and Gourgouris 1996.

<sup>6</sup> Byron apparently wanted something to distract him from his amatory adventures in Venice. As he wrote in a letter to his publisher in December 1816, 'I found it necessary to twist my mind round some severer study; and this, as being the hardest I could devise here, will be a file for the serpent' (cited in Mesrobian 1973, 29).

French–Armenian dictionary of 1812 was sponsored by Karapēt Tiwzean.<sup>7</sup> Byron also helped Aucher to prepare an English grammar for Armenian readers, meeting the publishing costs out of his own pocket.<sup>8</sup> However, his preface for the English version, published in 1819, was apparently rejected by the Mxit‘arists because of its inflammatory remarks about the Ottoman government, highlighting the misalignment between European interests and those of the Armenian community itself, and their differing perceptions of the empire during this period.<sup>9</sup>

Byron’s encounter with the Mxit‘arists points towards varying degrees of convergence between cultural and political concerns in the context of Ottoman–European relations as they were mediated through the Greek Orthodox and Armenian populations of the empire. For proponents of the Greek Enlightenment such as Iōsēpos Moisiōdax (ca. 1725–1800) or Adamantios Koraēs (1748–1833), European philhellenism resonated with their own aspirations to revive the Greek nation not only in educational or cultural terms, but also on the political stage.<sup>10</sup> These aspirations were assisted by the access to political power that was afforded by the institutions of the Phanariot rulerships as well as the regional dominance of the Greek Orthodox Church and its educational networks. Furthermore, the strategic importance of south-eastern Europe for the Great Powers gave internal debates about cultural identity a wider political significance, leading to foreign involvement in regional affairs and support for revolutionary activities.

By contrast, the political aspects of Enlightenment thought gained little traction amongst Ottoman Armenian intellectuals before the late nineteenth century. Armenians were dispersed across a wider geographical area under a number of different polities, and did not have the regional influence or access to devolved state power enjoyed by Greek Orthodox elites in south-eastern Europe. Though it shared many features with the neo-Hellenic Enlightenment in terms of its socio-economic organisation and intellectual orientations, the Mxit‘arist revival of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did not focus on overtly political issues (e.g. political autonomy or territorial rights) or lead directly to revolutionary activity. Indeed, Armenian revolutionary movements did not emerge until the final decades of the nineteenth century, and

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<sup>7</sup> Aucher 1812.

<sup>8</sup> Aucher 1817.

<sup>9</sup> Aucher 1819; Mesrobian 1973, 32–3. Byron’s involvement in the Greek War of Independence is detailed in Beaton 2013.

<sup>10</sup> On the Greek Enlightenment and its political ramifications, see Kitromilides 1994; idem 2013; Kostantaras 2006; and Beaton and Ricks 2009. On Koraēs and Moisiōdax in particular, see Kitromilides 2010b and idem 1992. See van Meurs and Mungiu-Pippidi 2010 for perspectives on the wider regional impact of nationalism on institutions and state building in Ottoman south-eastern Europe.

it was only then that the ‘Armenian Question’ began to attract sustained interest from the Great Powers.<sup>11</sup>

As I will argue below, the differing political and intellectual dynamics of the Greek Orthodox and Armenian communities of the Ottoman Empire, and in particular the nature of their relationship with Europe, are important for understanding the origins, impact and significance of their respective musical reforms. Yet at the same time, it is vital to note that European influence was not the only (or even the most) significant factor either in the broader context of Greek or Armenian intellectual life in the early nineteenth century or in the specific case of musical reform. The Greek Enlightenment was not a stage on a unilinear path towards intellectual and political freedom, but a multifaceted process that elicited widely varying responses from different sectors of Greek Orthodox society. These responses were determined not only by political or ideological influences from Europe, but also by internal social dynamics as well as interactions with neighbouring confessional communities and with the Ottoman state.

Similarly, Armenian interpretations of the Enlightenment were not simply a reflection of European political or cultural hegemony, but were distinct intellectual developments that were shaped by local actors according to their own propensities and aspirations. In what follows, then, I will trace a history of intellectual and musical contact between Enlightenment Europe and the Ottoman world, firstly through a textual analysis of *Eražšut’iwn* and then through a comparative discussion of the Greek and Armenian reforms of the early nineteenth century. In doing so, I will show how the Enlightenment should be understood not as the unique political achievement of western Europe, but as a more broadly conceived process in which non-European actors, including Ottoman Greek and Armenian intellectuals, forged their own paths towards modernity, in response to both global and local forces. At the same time, the chapter highlights the ways in which the influence of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century philhellenism continues to obscure the connections between European and Ottoman music histories, a separation which is mapped on to a deeper ideological divide between Islamic and Greco-Christian civilisations.

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<sup>11</sup> Libaridian 1987; idem 1983; Ter Minassian 1984; Nalbandian 1963. There were, however, calls to establish an Armenian republic by a small group of merchants and intellectuals in Madras in the 1770s: see Aslanian 2004, 65–79; idem 2013; Ghougassian 1999.

### 3.1. Translating the Enlightenment: European Sources in *Eražštut'iwn*

The received narrative of the invention of Hampartsum notation, which attributes it to the reformist policies of Selim III, implicitly or explicitly suggests that it is reflective of a westernising tendency in the late Ottoman Empire. However, there has been no attempt to make a more detailed argument for the impact of European ideas and practices on the invention of the notation system. A close analysis of Bžškean's treatise on music can reveal a more nuanced picture of the relationship between notational reform in Istanbul and broader intellectual interactions with Europe. As I will argue, 'European' influences in *Eražštut'iwn* need to be situated within an older tradition of classical and Christian learning, as well as in relation to a range of local factors, including contacts with Greek Orthodox and Ottoman–Turkish musical cultures.

Much of the first part of *Eražštut'iwn* is based on the Bible or on classical Greek sources, providing a common point of departure with European music writing of the same period. The title page bears an epigraph attributed to Pythagoras ('The soul lives by music'), followed on the first page by a quote from the Armenian Neoplatonist David the Invincible. Bžškean goes on to consider various theories about the origins of music amongst the ancient Greeks, mentioning well-known figures (historical or mythical) such as Homer, Orpheus, Plato and Aristotle.<sup>12</sup> In a later section he cites Aristoxenus and Ptolemy as well as the late classical authors Boethius and St Augustine.<sup>13</sup> Bžškean's familiarity with ancient Greek (and Latin) writing on music reflects the close relationship between Hellenic and Armenian literary traditions, which, as detailed in the following section, had parallels in liturgical and musical practices. However, he considers the Old Testament a more reliable (because sacred) and more ancient source, and concludes that music was discovered by Cain's grandson Jubal. He goes on to discuss various other biblical stories about music, such as David playing the lyre or the performance of psalms in Solomon's temple to the accompaniment of 'forty thousand instruments'.<sup>14</sup>

Based on the Bible and Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* (1650), Bžškean describes musical practices amongst other ancient peoples such as the Egyptians, Chaldeans

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<sup>12</sup> Bžškean 1997, 61–5.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 71.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 65–8. For a recent cross-cultural exploration of David's symbolic role in Islamic and Christian musical discourses, see Irving 2016. On creation myths in Islamic music writing, see Shiloah 1995, 36–7.

and Assyrians.<sup>15</sup> According to his Christian conception of time, he surmises that the Armenians must have received musical instruments from Noah, whose ark is believed to have landed on Mount Ararat after the flood. As mentioned in Chapter Two, he then details the musical practices of the ancient Armenian kings with reference to Movses Xorenac'i's history of Armenia (dated to between the fifth and eighth centuries). Bžškean treats his sources with a measure of scepticism, using phrases such as 'it seems that' (*k'erewi t'ē*), 'according to a plausible surmise' (*əst hawanakan karceac'*), and so on. He discusses stories from the Bible or classical literature within a historical framework, critically comparing different accounts and attempting to convince the reader of their plausibility. After discussing Timotheus' ability to rouse Alexander the Great to battle by playing the *aulos*, for example, Bžškean seeks corroboration in more recent sources:

A musician so stirred the heart of the King of Denmark with agitating melodies that, becoming enraged, he ran and killed his servant. Morhof<sup>16</sup> relates that Peter of Holland broke glasses with his voice, and Kircher says that by playing an instrument one can move a rock from where it is placed. If music moves a rock, then how much more it can move man's stony heart to virtue and civility?<sup>17</sup>

Although generally sympathetic to Neoplatonist conceptions of music, Bžškean is somewhat wary of 'pagan' (*het'anos*) ideas, and – as befits a Catholic priest – believes that the ultimate purpose of music is to glorify God and encourage devotion. Thus, while he argues that there is an objective basis to music's power to produce physical or emotional effects, he shows little interest in magic or mysticism, preferring rather to stress 'the necessity of music, which moves man to follow the good, by bringing to mind the blissful life, [that he may be] pious and God-fearing.'<sup>18</sup> He also believes that the Bible gives a more trustworthy account of music history than sources which attribute the discovery of music to Greek deities, which he refers to as 'myths' (*aṛaspelner*).<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 68–70. Many of Bžškean's sources are identified in K'erovbean's footnotes to his edition of *Eražšut' iwn*.

<sup>16</sup> Daniel Georg Morhof (1639–91) was the author of a popular compendium of learning, first published as a complete work in 1708 and reprinted in 1714, 1732 and 1747. See Waquet 2000.

<sup>17</sup> Bžškean 1997, 70. The story about Alexander the Great is probably taken from Dawit' Anyalt's *Definitions of Philosophy* (Nersisyan 1980, 8). The same anecdotes are also recounted by Rousseau in his *Dictionnaire de Musique* (see Rousseau 1768, 314–5), which K'erovbean suggests may also have been a source for Bžškean (K'erovbean 1997, 41).

<sup>18</sup> Bžškean 1997, 67.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 65.

*Eražšut'iwn* shares a number of features with a work by Grigor Gapasaxalean (ca. 1740–1808), an Armenian scholar from Kayseri who published several books on music in Istanbul at the turn of the nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup> These features include a question-and-answer structure, a reliance on the Old Testament for early music history, and a Neoplatonic strand derived from late classical and medieval Armenian authors. But while Gapasaxalean's work might in some respects be considered as a precursor to that of Bžškean, there are important differences which make direct influence appear less likely. While both authors relate some of the same tropes about the place of music in the ancient world, there are divergences between the versions of Gapasaxalean and Bžškean. In Gapasaxalean's telling of the abovementioned story about Alexander the Great, for instance, the preternaturally skilled musician is not Timotheus but Orpheus.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, although there is some evidence in *Eražšut'iwn* of interactions between Greek Orthodox and Armenian musicians in Istanbul, Gapasaxalean makes extensive use of Greek music theory and notation – and, indeed, texts and melodies (see *infra*).

Perhaps the most important difference between Gapasaxalean and Bžškean concerns their respective approaches to scholarship. Gapasaxalean dwells at length on the mystical significance of music, drawing speculative analogies between language, numerology and music theory. By the beginning of the twentieth century, his works appeared so esoteric that, as Hisarlean wrote, 'one would have to be the prophet Daniel in order to gather any insight from them'.<sup>22</sup> By contrast, *Eražšut'iwn* was written in a far more accessible style, reflecting the didactic and popularising orientations of the Mxit'arist project. Furthermore, Bžškean is little concerned with mysticism, emphasising instead the rational qualities of music as an aspect of the discourse of notational reform. Such differences suggest that, although *Eražšut'iwn* was rooted in earlier traditions of scholarship and may have been partly foreshadowed by Gapasaxalean's work, the invention of Hampartsum notation stemmed from a somewhat different set of concerns that were more closely connected to recent intellectual developments in Europe.

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<sup>20</sup> Gapasaxalean 1794. See also idem 1803a, 1803b, 1803c and Hisarlean 1914, 22–8. The 1794 publication is mainly a collection of sacred songs, reprinted with some changes in 1803, but also includes a substantial theoretical section. Two other unpublished theoretical works, both of which integrate Greek and Ottoman–Turkish musical concepts and language, are ascribed to Gapasaxalean (see P[alyan] 1895 and T'ahmizyan 1973), but this is uncertain (thanks to Haig Utidjian for bringing these sources to my attention). See Utidjian and Troelsgård (forthcoming) for a detailed analysis of Gapasaxalean's work.

<sup>21</sup> Gapasaxalean 1794, 184–5. I am indebted to Haig Utidjian for generously allowing me to consult his unpublished translation of the historical and theoretical portions of this work.

<sup>22</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 25.

Although more modest in terms of detail and scale, Bžškean's approach to music history is not dissimilar to eighteenth-century European sources, which typically begin by discussing music amongst the Greeks, Egyptians, Hebrews and other ancient peoples. Indeed, this historiographic scheme remained essentially unchanged in European musicology up to and including the *New Oxford History of Music*, published in 1957.<sup>23</sup> Enlightenment histories of ancient music, as found in Hawkins (1776), Burney (1776), Laborde (1780) or Forkel (1788), are based on classical and biblical literature and thus mention many of the same tropes. Bžškean's discussion of Hermes' invention of the lyre from a tortoise shell, for example, is paralleled in these sources, complete with diagrams and earnest debates about the precise number of strings.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, figures such as Pythagoras, Orpheus or Jubal are invariably present. Moreover, Bžškean's belief in the divine nature of music is by no means alien to Enlightenment musicology: Laborde, for instance, argues that the earliest songs arose out of devotion to God.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps the most significant difference in contemporaneous European sources is their adoption of a quasi-ethnographic approach to the music of various contemporary cultures; though even this is present, to some degree, in Bžškean's comparison of ancient musical practices with those of the modern-day Armenians, Jews and Greeks of Istanbul.<sup>26</sup>

Bžškean's rationalistic attitude is most evident in his long discussion of the physics of sound. Although a sophisticated understanding of harmonic ratios (derived from ancient Greek theory) had existed in Islamicate music writing since the ninth to tenth centuries, Bžškean's adoption of a mechanistic model of sound is entirely unprecedented in Ottoman sources. Over the span of some 15 pages, accompanied by illustrations, Bžškean explains the phenomenon of vibration as the movement of particles and its impact upon the inner ear; the physiology of the human voice; elasticity and the properties of sounding bodies; the application of these principles to Ottoman instruments such as the *keman* and *tanbur*; vacuums and the propagation of sound through different substances; the acoustics of buildings and other spaces; the velocity of sound; amplification; reverberation; and the application of harmonic theory to musical practice.<sup>27</sup>

Bžškean derives much of this material from Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis*, the first book of which ('Anatomicus') covers many of the same topics; some of the information about

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<sup>23</sup> Wellesz 1957. For a broader contextualisation of the question of the ancient Near Eastern origins of European civilisation, see Marchand 2014.

<sup>24</sup> Hawkins 1875 [1776], I, 3–4; Burney 1776–89, I, 267–9; Forkel 1788–1801, I, 197–8.

<sup>25</sup> Laborde 1780, I, 9–10.

<sup>26</sup> E.g. Bžškean 1997, 68, 92–3, 96–7.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 77–92.

acoustics is taken from the ninth book ('Magicus').<sup>28</sup> Kircher was himself a cosmopolitan scholar who participated in a Republic of Letters that extended beyond Europe to the Jesuit missions of Asia, Africa and America (he also wrote – albeit imperfectly – in Armenian, Hebrew, Arabic and Coptic).<sup>29</sup> Due to the global spread of Jesuit networks, the *Musurgia* enjoyed a wide readership not only in Europe but also in Mexico, Beijing and Manila, amongst other places.<sup>30</sup> Bžškean is most likely to have consulted a copy in Venice, though it is not inconceivable that an edition found its way to Istanbul (where he wrote the treatise), in light of the lively Mxit'arist book trade with the Ottoman Empire, or the presence of Jesuit missions there (a copy was requested to be brought to Syria in 1654).<sup>31</sup>

It may seem anachronistic for an early nineteenth-century work to rely on Kircher's seventeenth-century tome. But despite Kircher's diminished reputation in Enlightenment Europe, his *Musurgia* continued to be used by music historians (especially with regards to ancient music, as witness Hawkins et al) and even acousticians into the late eighteenth century.<sup>32</sup> Kircher's description of an amplifying device used by Alexander the Great (also found in Bžškean), for instance, was based on a text by Aristotle that was considered spurious until Morhof reproduced an Arabic translation, and an attempt was made to replicate the instrument in 1796 by Gottfried Huth, Professor of Physics at the University of Frankfurt.<sup>33</sup> Paula Findlen has argued that the decline of Kircher's reputation was linked to the deification of Newton in the eighteenth century, which became the basis for a Whiggish understanding of the history of science that ignores the close relationship between natural philosophy and non-canonical subjects such as Egyptology, theology or alchemy.<sup>34</sup> Of course, Newton's understanding of acoustics – and of the spectrum of light – was itself deeply informed by Neoplatonist music theory.<sup>35</sup>

In any case, as I have argued above, Bžškean is more interested in the rational application of acoustic theory than its mystical dimensions, believing that it will help students 'to become

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<sup>28</sup> Kircher 1650. A facsimile of the *Musurgia Universalis* is available in Kircher 1970. See also Fletcher 2011, 88–104; idem 1982; and Godwin 2009, 157–78 for summaries of the contents. Bžškean may also have drawn on another unpublished music treatise in Armenian, written by Anton Iwč'gardašean in 1801, which, as Vardoumian (1998, 191) points out, contains a translation of the first three chapters of the *Musurgia*. Cf. K'arovbean 1997, 41n87.

<sup>29</sup> Malcolm 2004.

<sup>30</sup> On the global distribution of Kircher's works, see Findlen 2004 and Irving 2009.

<sup>31</sup> Fletcher 1982, 79; also cited in Irving 2009, 47.

<sup>32</sup> Wald 2006, 184–93.

<sup>33</sup> Fletcher 2011, 152–4.

<sup>34</sup> Findlen 2000.

<sup>35</sup> Gouk 1999, 224–57.



skilled in the principles of music’ and ‘to learn and understand subsequent things easily’.<sup>36</sup> While he does not mention important physicists of the Enlightenment who deal with acoustics, such as Leonhard Euler (1707–83) or Ernst Chladni (1756–1827), neither do, say, Hawkins or Burney, though the lack of attention given to acoustics in eighteenth-century European musicology may be due to the fact that it had developed into an independent discipline.<sup>37</sup> Nonetheless, Bžškean is familiar with relatively recent scientific research: he describes, for example, the experiments of William Derham (published in 1708–1709), which were the first to produce an accurate measurement for the speed of sound, as well as Jean-Antoine Nollet’s discovery (1743) that sound is transmitted through water.<sup>38</sup>

To a certain extent, then, Bžškean participates in the rationalisation of sound that, as Veit Erlmann has argued (*contra* Marshall McLuhan), is as much a hallmark of modernity as the privileging of visual culture.<sup>39</sup> In line with the Mxit‘arist revival as a whole, Bžškean is largely immune to the ‘revolutionary’ implications of modern scientific thinking, yet this is also characteristic of other religious Enlightenment movements such as the *haskalah*, or – in many respects – the neo-Hellenic Enlightenment.<sup>40</sup> Again, the notion of the Enlightenment as a radical, secular phenomenon is a teleological interpretation belied by the careers of its proponents: Derham was, after all, a clergyman, while the *abbé* Nollet was a theology graduate.

As well as direct engagement with European sources, Bžškean’s treatise resonates in a more general sense with Enlightenment attitudes, involving a scientific, didactic and proto-nationalistic approach to music. As discussed in the previous chapter, he and his collaborators aimed to standardise and rationalise musical practices which they believed had diverged or deteriorated through long periods of diasporic existence and assimilation to local cultures. In this context, Bžškean makes direct comparisons with the practices of ‘Latins’ (i.e. Europeans), arguing, for example, that Hampartsum notation would allow melodies to be sung ‘in a uniform way in every city and every place, just as the melodies of the Latins are.’<sup>41</sup> He also explicitly

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<sup>36</sup> Bžskskean 1997, 77.

<sup>37</sup> Euler’s work is mentioned by Laborde (1780, II, 3). Hawkins devotes a few pages to the acoustical researches of the Royal Society, but does not discuss recent findings (Hawkins 1875 [1776], II, 719ff.).

<sup>38</sup> Bžskskean 1997, 84. The results of William Derham’s (1657–1735) experiments were published as Derham 1708–1709 (cited in Gouk 1999, 250n70). Newton later attempted to replicate Derham’s findings (Gouk 1999, 250–51; Hunt 1978, 111–2, 150–54). Jean Antoine Nollet (1700–70), who was tutor to the Dauphin de France and a famous demonstrator of electrical experiments, visited Venice during a tour of Italy in 1749 (Bertucci 2006, 201). He described his experiments with acoustics in Nollet 1743 (cited in Pyenson and Gauvin, 2002, 208; see also Cohen 1981, 37).

<sup>39</sup> Erlmann 2010.

<sup>40</sup> Sorkin 2008; cf. Jacob 2000.

<sup>41</sup> Bžškskean 1997, 75.

acknowledges that European music theory provided inspiration for the new system of notation (alongside Armenian, Greek and Ottoman elements), and mentions that Yakob Tiwzean had ‘become very learned in European (*Latin*) music’ during his stay in Paris.<sup>42</sup> The Tiwzeans’ relations with Europeans in Istanbul must have brought them into at least occasional contact with western music, whether as private entertainment, at official functions, or in the Catholic churches in which they worshipped. Furthermore, although Bžškean himself claims no expertise in European music, he discusses both the technique and historical development of staff notation in several places, and would surely have encountered European music in Venice, if not in Istanbul. The question then arises: Why did the reformers not simply adopt European staff notation?

The reasons for this were at once pragmatic and linked to deeper cultural attitudes. Bžškean and his collaborators adopted the signs of the medieval Armenian *xaz* even while transforming their function, demonstrating a conservative tendency to maintain elements of established practices rather than adopt entirely foreign ones. Thus, he writes that

we do not wish to invent the forms of the signs anew, because we have various signs or neumes in the hymn [books] ... and in this way, by using the signs of our forebears, we wish to give respect to their discovery, since it is possible that they were discovered in the pre-Christian period, and in ancient times too such signs were used.<sup>43</sup>

In the same way, Bžškean emphasises that he does not wish to modify the existing melodies of Armenian church music, but only to systematise their performance and transmission.<sup>44</sup> This was entirely consonant with the desire to celebrate and preserve the heritage of Armenian civilisation that was a defining feature of the Mxit‘arist revival. Moreover, as I suggested in Chapter Two, the idea of retaining the symbols of medieval notation while transforming the principles of the writing system demonstrates the tenacity of script as a marker of religious or ethnic identity. As İlker Aytürk argues, the ‘charisma’ of a script derives from its association with long established cultural or religious practices, and as such offers a powerful alternative to the introduction of foreign writing systems, despite their apparent technical superiority.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 73–4.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 96.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 75, 131.

<sup>45</sup> Aytürk 2010.

A further reason for the rejection of staff notation was that Bžškean regarded it as unsuitable for the needs of Ottoman or Armenian music, explaining that ‘our melodies being very different from the melodies of the Europeans, it was impossible for [our musicians] to establish a rule, and for them to write Eastern melodies with their notation (*xaz*)’.<sup>46</sup> He sees European music as overburdened with theory, especially with regards to harmony, which was irrelevant to local modal practices and conflicted with the populist and didactic intentions behind the new notation system.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, he argues that Hampartsum notation has practical advantages over staff notation. Firstly, it is not necessary to use staff-ruled paper and it can thus be written more quickly and efficiently.<sup>48</sup> More importantly, staff notation is unable to express the neutral intervals of Ottoman music:

... in order for the melodies of Eastern peoples to be more embellished [lit. ‘playful’], they have a double half, or a half of a half-tone, which is called a quarter-tone, which the Turks call *şuri*, or *nimin nimi* [Tr. ‘half of a half’], that is, a quarter. The Europeans do not have this sign and for that reason Eastern melodies cannot be written with their ‘notation’ (*nōt‘a*).<sup>49</sup>

From Bžškean’s point of view, then, European musical practices are not inherently superior to local practices, but are impractical, lack melodic–tonal complexity and thus have limited expressive capacity. For this reason, rather than simply being an adaptation of European staff notation, Hampartsum notation was designed to suit the needs of Armenian musicians in Istanbul and was based mainly on local theoretical and practical principles. While Bžškean does occasionally draw on aspects of European music theory, these form only one element in a larger music-theoretical complex – and certainly not the dominant one.

Nonetheless, *Eražštut‘iwn* may appear to be derivative of European sources in other respects. As I have argued, it has much in common with Enlightenment music histories, and in several instances is based directly on European literature. However, there are a number of factors which complicate this picture. In the first place, Bžškean’s relationship to Greek learning is founded on a centuries-old interaction between Armenian and Hellenic cultures, rather than a second-hand understanding based on European sources. Likewise, his biblical

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<sup>46</sup> Bžškean 1997, 73.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 119, 144.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 99–100.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, 103–4. The ‘quarter tone’ referred to here is a conceptual division and not the equal-tempered variety found in modern-day Arab or Iranian musics. See Maraqa 2015b for a recent analysis of the historical background of the modern Arabic system.

approach to music history should be seen in the context of the Armenians' adoption of Christianity at the beginning of the fourth century, not as the reflection of recent missionary activity. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that Bžškean's acquaintance with more recent western scholarship – in which respect he differs from Gapasaxalean, writing in Istanbul only a few years earlier – was facilitated by his connections with Catholic Europe through the monastery of San Lazzaro.

Yet as an Ottoman Armenian in Venice, Bžškean did not represent an isolated example of cross-cultural contact. As well as Armenian religious and merchant communities that were well integrated into local social structures, long-established links between Venice and the Ottoman Empire were maintained through trade, diplomacy, scholarship and missionary activity.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, for many northerners Venice was itself an exotic city situated somewhere between Europe and the Levant, perhaps only marginally less 'other' than Istanbul. This should lead us to question the assumed geographical and cultural boundaries that separate Ottoman and European worlds, which, as Shirine Hamadeh writes, are based on 'the fallacy of a fundamental polarity between the two geocultural entities, whereby cultural encounter can occur only in situations of unequal power and in the form of "influence"'.<sup>51</sup> Instead, we might see the appropriation of diverse cultural elements as part of the normal experience of certain social groups, whether Ottoman or European, before the age of the nation-state.

A shared heritage of biblical and classical literature meant that Bžškean's reading of European sources was from a position of some familiarity. Kircher, for example, although writing in Latin, is speaking of a world already partly inhabited by Armenian scholars. Bžškean therefore engages with European sources in an unselfconscious manner, integrating them into his cosmopolitan worldview as part of an eclectic universe of learning, much in the same way as early modern European scholars such as Kircher approached texts in Arabic or Hebrew. Another analogy might be the synthesis of European Baroque and Neoclassical elements with Ottoman architectural styles during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As Hamadeh shows, contemporary Ottoman observers did not view such buildings as signs of 'westernisation', as they are often regarded now, but rather as legitimate expressions of originality within their local environment, in which such details formed only one element in an eclectic mix.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Rothman 2012, 2013.

<sup>51</sup> Hamadeh 2004, 34.

<sup>52</sup> Hamadeh 2004. See also idem 2007c.

Bžškean's synthesis of European sources with local knowledge and musical practices means it is necessary to consider his treatise in relation not only to European music writing, but also to neighbouring music cultures closer to home. A comparison of the invention of Hampartsum notation with the simultaneous reform of Byzantine notation by Greek Orthodox musicians in Istanbul further undermines the simplistic narrative of westernisation. The following section thus explores another dimension of the translation of Enlightenment thought into Ottoman musical contexts, demonstrating that this did not constitute a straightforward appropriation of European ideas and practices, but took place within a complex network of local interactions between diverse communities in the imperial capital.

### **3.2. Greek and Armenian Reforms in Comparative Perspective**

The earliest scholarly writings in European languages on Armenian music were closely connected to efforts to understand Greek liturgical music, and at the same time formed part of the larger fields of philology and early Christian history.<sup>53</sup> In this sense, they were integral to the emergence of historical musicology as an academic discipline, which at its inception – particularly in relation to Christian liturgical music – borrowed from philology and religious studies in an attempt to establish an origin myth for the music of western civilisation. Like chant studies in general, then, scholarship on Armenian music has long been overshadowed by a philhellenist concern with ancient origins and an underlying prejudice towards Islamicate or 'Turkish' musical influences, which have often been regarded as signs of deterioration or impurity.

The German linguist and bible scholar Julius Heinrich Petermann, who learned Armenian at San Lazzaro in 1832–3 and who subsequently demonstrated that it belonged to the Indo-Germanic language family, argued that the study of Armenian neumes could unlock the mysteries of Byzantine chant.<sup>54</sup> The basis for Petermann's argument was that the Armenians had 'without doubt borrowed their musical signs from the Greeks', and that their sacred music was uncorrupted by 'Muhammadan' practices.<sup>55</sup> In the later nineteenth and early twentieth

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<sup>53</sup> See Jarjour 2015 for a recent discussion of similar historiographical issues in the study of Syriac chant. Cf. Marchand 2014.

<sup>54</sup> On the institutional and intellectual links between philhellenism and orientalist scholarship in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Most 2010, 51–2.

<sup>55</sup> Petermann 1851, 365. See Schmitt 1975, 7–9 for details of Petermann's contributions to the study of the Armenian language. Previous, fragmentary attempts had been made to provide descriptions of Armenian church music for European readers (e.g. Kircher 1650, II, 136 and Schröder 1711, 243–8), but the first detailed and

centuries, other European musicologists, emulating the methods of classical philology, similarly sought to shed light on the origins of western music by establishing connections between Latin chant and the liturgical musics of Eastern Christianity.

Pierre Aubry, whose lectures at the Institut Catholique in Paris in 1898–99 introduced the word ‘musicologie’ to the French language, was originally trained in oriental languages and applied philological paradigms to the study of medieval chanson as well as to the musics of Eastern Christianity.<sup>56</sup> Aubry correctly perceived that modern Greek and Armenian chant traditions had undergone centuries of intermixing with Ottoman musical practices (though he also claimed that the latter retained vestiges of ancient Greek music transmitted via the Arabs).<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, Aubry’s pseudo-philological framework had strong racial overtones: while Greek and Armenian chant emanated from the ‘Indo-European genius’, the use of vocal ornamentation was ‘Semitico-Turanian’, and was a sure sign of ‘Turkish infiltration’.<sup>58</sup> Meanwhile, for critics of Aubry such as the Jesuit scholar Antoine Dechevrens, the idea that the musics of Eastern Christianity may have been influenced by Muslim–Turkish culture was anathema, since it was a foregone conclusion that they preserved the noble simplicity of an idealised classical past, rather than the unsettling intricacies of the Ottoman present.<sup>59</sup>

Such narratives were partly supported by the claims of Armenian scholars such as Komitas Vardapet, writing within the intellectual framework of European musicology, whose portrayal of the music of the Church as a national monument would not allow for the intermingling of Armenian and Ottoman–Turkish musical practices.<sup>60</sup> At the same time, native scholarship emphasised the status of Armenian chant as an authentic witness to the oldest period of Christian history, an approach that suited the intellectual climate of turn-of-the-century musicology in terms of its focus on ancient origins and bounded cultural identities. Komitas’

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systematic study seems to have been published in Villoteau’s *Description de l’Égypte* (Villoteau 1809, 766–83). Armenian music was also included in nineteenth-century general music histories such as Fétis 1869–76, IV, 69–93. A transcription of the music of the Armenian liturgy as performed at San Lazzaro was published by Pietro Bianchini during the same period (Bianchini 1877).

<sup>56</sup> Bergeron 1998, 92–3; Bent [2016].

<sup>57</sup> Aubry 1903, 38–49. For the claim of the survival of ancient Greek metres in Arab and Ottoman–Turkish musics, see *ibid.*, 40. See also *idem* 1901–03. Another French scholar of oriental languages, Frédéric Macler, published a pamphlet on Armenian music in 1917 (Macler 1917).

<sup>58</sup> Aubry 1901–03, 330.

<sup>59</sup> Dechevrens 1904; see also Fleury 1905. To be fair, Dechevrens does acknowledge the limited influence of Ottoman–Turkish or Arab musical practices on Eastern Christian liturgical traditions, but regards this as a superficial – and regrettable – development that did not affect their original purity (Dechevrens 1904, 37–42). For a more positive but still somewhat skeptical review of Aubry’s work, see Macler 1904.

<sup>60</sup> For details of Komitas’ involvement with European (especially German) music scholars and academic institutions, see Poladian 1972, 82–3.

nationalistic, Europeanising approach to music history thus meshed with the narrative of the superiority of western civilisation, built on the dual foundations of classicism and Christianity.

The spectres of philhellenism, religious prejudice and ethnic nationalism continued to haunt the study of the musics of Eastern Christianity well into the twentieth century. For Egon Wellesz, the study of Armenian notation could provide the key to the decipherment of early Byzantine neumes, and thus was ‘of the greatest importance for the question of the origin and spread of ancient Christian church singing.’<sup>61</sup> However, Wellesz believed that by the eighteenth century both Greek and Armenian liturgical musics had lost their connection with the ‘great tradition’ of the past due to their assimilation of ‘Arabo-Turkish’ musical practices.<sup>62</sup> The reforms of the early nineteenth century were the final nail in the coffin, signifying ‘the complete separation from the great tradition, in Byzantine as well as Armenian music, and, while fully recognising what was achieved here, one cannot ignore the fact that through the reform itself innumerable treasures from an earlier period were destroyed forever.’<sup>63</sup> Thus, while Armenian notation may have been valuable in the eyes of European scholars as a means of understanding the early development of the Christian liturgy, its use within the more recent context of secular Ottoman music was of little interest – or worse, was directly connected to the destruction of the ancient musical heritage of Greco-Christian civilisation.<sup>64</sup>

Ironically, while European scholars emphasised the links between Armenian and Greek Orthodox musics in their effort to establish an uninterrupted line of development between antiquity, Eastern Christendom and modern European civilisation, the negative influence of Byzantine music on the Armenian liturgy was being decried by local scholars using the same orientalist terms of denigration that were normally reserved for ‘Turkish’ music. According to Aristakēs Hisarlean, until the introduction of Hampartsum notation, music was taught to Armenian students at the patriarchal school ‘by means of Greek notation’ (‘Yunakan jaynagrut’eamp’), presumably referring to Middle Byzantine notation. He continues:

There is no need to stress that the Greek melodies (*Yunakan elanakə*) found their way into our Church, because before the wonderful discovery of Armenian notation all of the old choirmasters were under the influence of nasal Greek singing, according to which

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<sup>61</sup> Wellesz 1923, 85. See also idem 1920, where Wellesz attempts to demonstrate musical similarities between Byzantine and Armenian chants.

<sup>62</sup> Idem 1927, 60–61.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 62.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Lingas 2003.

they sang a large part of the celebration of the Holy Liturgy, mainly [the song forms] *tals* and *meledis*, which had an unpleasant effect on listeners.<sup>65</sup>

Thus, Hisarlean claims that Limōnčean strove to change the habits of the Armenian cantors who were opposed to his reforms, ‘by forcing them to finally remove those distasteful Greek melodies which had dominated in our Church, and thereby to change such nasal singing styles.’<sup>66</sup>

In a similar fashion, Rōbert At‘ayan was concerned to refute the idea, advanced by German chant scholars such as Oskar Fleischer, that the early development of Armenian neumes was linked to Greek prosodic signs.<sup>67</sup> For At‘ayan, the canon of liturgical music formed part of Armenia’s national heritage, and thus could not have been decisively influenced by foreign musical or textual practices, particularly in the Golden Age of late antiquity. However, Greek and Armenian cultures interacted closely in other areas during the ancient and medieval eras. Periods of Greek rule over Armenian-populated territories and the influence of Hellenistic culture across the region led in the late classical epoch to a ‘Hellenising’ school of Armenian literary production, in which translations of Greek texts formed the basis for novel linguistic constructions.<sup>68</sup> Under Byzantine rule, Armenians were well integrated into the ecclesiastical and administrative structures of the empire, while the independent Armenian kingdom of Cilicia maintained close links with Byzantium through trade, intermarriage and religious networks.<sup>69</sup>

The musical reformers of the early nineteenth century were aware that the development of Armenian liturgical music was closely intertwined with that of Byzantine chant. Bžškean cites the twelfth-century scholar Nerses Lambronac‘i to show that Armenian church music had assimilated aspects of Byzantine musical practice and theory during the Cilician period.<sup>70</sup> Elsewhere, he acknowledges that ‘in various places the order and progression of our neumes approaches their [i.e. the Greeks’] music, as appears especially clearly in slow melodies’, and that the names of the Armenian modes resemble the nomenclature of Byzantine music.<sup>71</sup> He also suggests that some sacred song forms, such as the *meledi* and *ganj*, have Greek origins.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 10.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, 14.

<sup>67</sup> At‘ayan 1999, 106–15 and passim. Cf. Fleischer 1895, 65–8. Other brief discussions of Armenian liturgical music by European scholars, presented in connection with Byzantine chant studies, are found in Gastoué 1914, 551–3 and Wagner 1912, 21–31, 70–81. See also Macler 1917.

<sup>68</sup> Thomson 1997, 218–20; Nichanian 1989, 110–142; Calzolari and Barnes 2009.

<sup>69</sup> Dédéyan 2003; Adontz 1965; Charanis 1963.

<sup>70</sup> Bžškean 1997, 72, 93.

<sup>71</sup> Bžškean 1997, 72, 96–7.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 126, 131.



Bžškean sees a connection between the complexities of Byzantine notation<sup>73</sup> and the loss of knowledge of the Armenian *xaz*. Having attempted to explain the somewhat obscure characteristics of the latter, he writes:

But generally it seems that each neume has a pitch, number and duration or modal colour, which we embellish in almost every place, whenever we see a neume. Now in this respect, our neumes too had the method of the Greek neumes, because their [music] is also [performed] in this manner; and it seems to us, that the musicians who composed our hymns, because they were skilled in the literature and music of the Greeks, adapted our music to theirs and followed their method ... and because their order was obscure and imperfect, for that reason, our neumes also remained obscure and imperfect.<sup>74</sup>

This long-standing historical interaction was reinforced by more recent contacts in the Ottoman capital, where, until the early nineteenth century, the Greek Orthodox community was numerically and politically dominant amongst the non-Muslim *millets*. As we have seen, Limōnčean himself studied with the Greek cantor Onouphrios of Tatavla, who taught Byzantine chant at both the Greek and Armenian patriarchal music schools, and by his own account he was well versed in Byzantine music. Bžškean also mentions that Limōnčean attempted to adapt Byzantine notation to Armenian music, but ‘because both their neumes and their music are imperfect, he worked a great deal but could extract little profit.’<sup>75</sup>

A number of other examples show that there was extensive musical contact between the Greek and Armenian communities of Istanbul in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Armenian cantor Zenne Pōlos (1746–1826), who is mentioned by Hisarlean as one of Limōnčean’s early teachers, taught Byzantine chant and adapted Greek liturgical melodies to Armenian sacred music.<sup>76</sup> More substantially, the works of Grigor Gapasaxalean (published in 1794–1803) demonstrate a deep engagement with Byzantine music theory and notation; indeed, recent research by Haig Utidjian and Christian Troelsgård has shown that these are amongst the very first printed examples of Byzantine neumes.<sup>77</sup> In a similar manner to the manuals of notation that often preface manuscript anthologies of Byzantine chant

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<sup>73</sup> Since the reformed Chrysanthine system did not emerge until some two years after *Eražštut’iwn* was composed (see below *infra*), Bžškean’s references to ‘the neumes and signs of Greek music’ (*yunakan eražštut’ean xazerə ew nšannerə*) presumably relate to Middle Byzantine notation.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, 94.

<sup>75</sup> Bžškean 1997, 73.

<sup>76</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 8, 20–21; also cited in Kerovpyan 2003, 33.

<sup>77</sup> Utidjian and Troelsgård (forthcoming). Plemmenos and Romanou both date the first printed collection of Byzantine music to 1820, some twenty years after the appearance of Gapasaxalean’s work (Plemmenos 2003, 180; Romanou 1990, 92n10).

(*papadike*), Gapasaxalean provides definitions and examples (including settings of Armenian texts to Greek melodies<sup>78</sup>) of Byzantine and Armenian neumes in current usage, while also proposing a number of hybrid notations that incorporate elements of both systems. Further evidence of musical exchange between Armenian and Greek Orthodox church musicians is provided by a mid-nineteenth-century manuscript collection in Chrysanthine notation which includes a setting of the Armenian Introit for Easter Day.<sup>79</sup>

Yet interactions between Armenian and Greek Orthodox musicians in Istanbul did not take place in isolation from their wider Ottoman context. Gapasaxalean's publications incorporate not only Byzantine theory and notation, but also elements from the Ottoman–Turkish musical tradition. His substantial theoretical work of 1803, for example, uses nonsense syllables derived from the Greek vocal form *kratēma* to describe Ottoman rhythmic cycles or *usuls*<sup>80</sup>, while a lyric anthology published in the same year provides incipits of around 90 songs in Turkish (as well as information about *makam* and *usul*) as an aid to the interpretation of the Armenian lyrics that form the main part of the collection.<sup>81</sup> According to Merih Erol, a Greco-Turkish collection of songs published in 1872 includes a *beste* (i.e. a song in Ottoman Turkish) attributed to Limōnčean.<sup>82</sup> Greek Orthodox and Armenian musicians thus came into contact not only through shared liturgical practices, but also through their common participation in the world of secular Ottoman music.

Like the Armenian community, from at least the seventeenth century Orthodox Greeks in Istanbul participated in secular Ottoman music as patrons, composers, performers and teachers. Both of Dimitrie Cantemir's teachers – the convert Kemani Ahmed Çelebi (d. 1720?) and the *tanbur* player Angeli (fl. ca. 1700) – were of Greek Orthodox origin, a fact that reflects Cantemir's Phanariot background, but also the high esteem that Greek Orthodox instrumentalists enjoyed during this period.<sup>83</sup> With the Phanariot ascendancy in the eighteenth century, elite Istanbul Greeks began to patronise a distinct tradition of Ottoman music – *makam*-based secular songs in Greek – and to produce treatises synthesising Byzantine and Ottoman music theory.<sup>84</sup> Greek Orthodox performers and composers such as Zaharya (d. 1740?) and

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<sup>78</sup> See e.g. Gapasaxalean 1794, 420.

<sup>79</sup> Utidjian and Lingas (forthcoming).

<sup>80</sup> Gapasaxalean 1803a, 105–10; cf. Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 78–81.

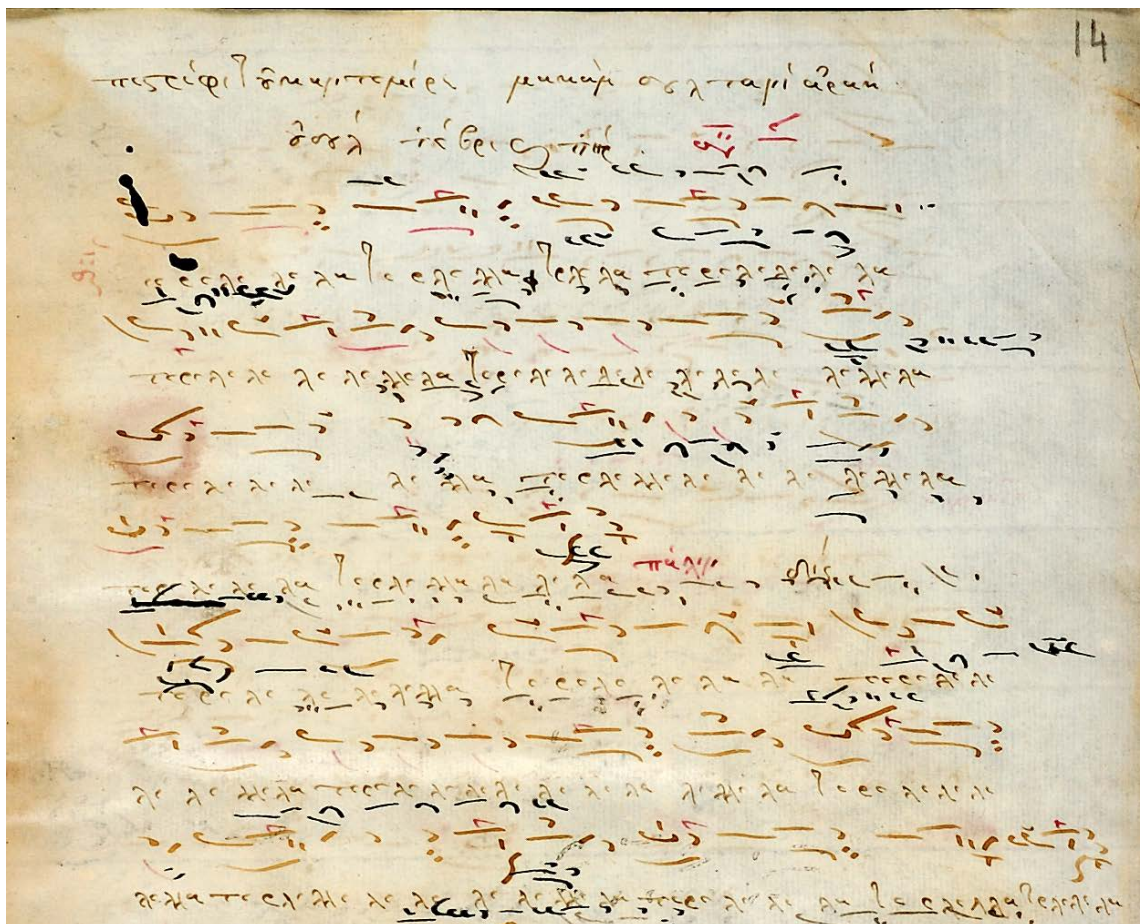
<sup>81</sup> Gapasaxalean 1803c, 156–60.

<sup>82</sup> Erol 2015, 63. The song is also listed in Bardakçı 1993, 52.

<sup>83</sup> Cantemir 1734–5, I, 151n14. Cf. Popescu-Judetiz 1999, 16; Feldman 1996, 48–9.

<sup>84</sup> On Phanariot song, see Plemmenos 2001 and Brandl 1989. For Byzantine–Ottoman music theory, see Pappas 2007; Popescu-Judetiz and Ababi Sirli 2000; Zannos 1994. See also Conomos 1988 for an overview of post-Byzantine – or as Conomos suggests, 'neo-Hellenic' – music history.

Corci (d. ca. 1775) made significant contributions to Ottoman performance practice and repertoire during the eighteenth century and were employed at the Ottoman court (see Chapter Five).



**Figure 3: Detail of a pesrev written in Middle Byzantine notation (ca. 1770?) (Zakynthos Metropolitan Library, Ms. Gritsanis 3, f. 14r)**

Furthermore, Greek Orthodox cantors recorded a large volume of secular Ottoman music in Middle Byzantine notation, most importantly in three large collections attributed to the famous singer and composer Petros Peloponnēsios (ca. 1730–78) (see Figure 3).<sup>85</sup> Like Limōnčean, Peloponnēsios is said to have been adept at transcribing melodies by ear, which – according to later Greek sources – astonished Muslim musicians and earned him the nickname

<sup>85</sup> Kalaitzidis 2012, 2015. A detailed account of Petros' career is found in Plemmenos 2001, 111–19. For a succinct general introduction to Middle Byzantine notation, see Troelsgård 2011.

‘Hırsız Petro’ (Peter the Thief).<sup>86</sup> Following a widely cited biographical work published in 1890, some authors have claimed that Limōnčean was instructed in (Middle) Byzantine notation by Peloponnēsios, and even that this formed the basis for the development of Hampartsum notation.<sup>87</sup> Similarly, according to Murat Bardakçı, a story exists in Greek ecclesiastical circles that Peloponnēsios and Limōnčean both proposed new notation systems at the request of the Ottoman sultan, but that the reformed Byzantine system was rejected because of its complexity.<sup>88</sup> However, a direct connection between Peloponnēsios and Limōnčean – which is not mentioned in any Armenian source – seems unlikely on the basis of their dates (Limōnčean was still a child when Peloponnēsios died in 1778).

Nonetheless, there are indications that another Armenian musician had a close relationship with Peloponnēsios. In 1867, a Viennese review published a translation of a treatise on music by Antoine de Murat (ca. 1739–1813), a Catholic Armenian dragoman at the Swedish (and later Prussian) embassy in Istanbul.<sup>89</sup> According to the translator, Auguste von Adelburg, Murat learned ‘the musical system of the Turks’ with ‘the famous Turkish [sic] composer and master singer of the Greek Church in Constantinople, Pedro Lampadario’.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, Adelburg claims that Peloponnēsios developed a notation system, ‘which appears in part something like the forms of the old neumes, [and] in part like the Turkish–Arabic script’, which was adopted by Murat in his treatise.<sup>91</sup> Another contemporary source reports that Murat used a

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<sup>86</sup> Kalaitzidis 2012, 180–81; Bardakçı 1993, 15–16; Erol 2015, 81–82. The trope first appears in Chrysanthos of Madytos’ *Mega Theōrētikōn* of 1832 (Chrysanthos of Madytos 2010, 238). Bardakçı incorrectly cites a collection of Petros’ liturgical compositions published in 1825 (Chourmouziou Chortophylax 1825), which contains no biographical or historical information, as the source for another variant of the story; the mistaken citation is repeated in Aksoy 2003, 191–2 and thence Erol 2015, 197n78. A more probable source is Papadopoulos 1890, 320–21, which is derived in turn from a mid-nineteenth-century work by Kyriakos Philoxenēs (cf. Plemmenos 2001, 113–4; Kalaitzidis 2012, 181n52). On Philoxenēs and his *Lexicon*, see Erol 2015, 84–90; a useful summary of Papadopoulos’ scholarship is given in *ibid.*, 119–121. I am indebted to Ersin Mihçi for help in locating and translating these Greek-language sources.

<sup>87</sup> Romanou 1973, 265; Plemmenos 2001, 12–13; Kalaitzidis 2012, 179. The story originally appeared in Papadopoulos 1890, 319.

<sup>88</sup> Bardakçı 1993, 16n10.

<sup>89</sup> Adelburg 1867. I am grateful to Salah Eddin Maraqa for providing me with a copy of this essay. Antoine de Murat was a colleague – and rival – of Mouradgea d’Ohsson; for detailed biographical information, see Testa and Gautier 2003. His treatise was originally written in French and entitled ‘Essai d’un traité sur la mélodie orientale, ou Explication du Système, des Modes et des Mesures de la Musique turque.’ See Aksoy 2003, 155–75 for further discussion. Like Mouradgea d’Ohsson, some scholars have mistakenly assumed that Murat was a European, partly due to the conflation of Murat’s treatise on Ottoman music with the opinions of his translator, Adelburg (see e.g. Erol 2015, 204n37; cf. Aksoy 2003, 159–60).

<sup>90</sup> Adelburg 1867, 25–6. Adelburg writes here that Murat studied European music with Toderini, which Aksoy takes to mean that he was one of the latter’s informants (Aksoy 2003, 156). However, Toderini writes only that the table of Ottoman pitches published in his *Letteratura Turchesca* was composed by ‘[un] buon maestro nella Musica Europea, e addottrinato nella Turchesca’ (Toderini 1787, I, 243).

<sup>91</sup> Adelburg, 74–5. Peloponnēsios’ notation, as well as his musical activities, are described in more detail at *ibid.*, 107.

newly invented notation system to compile a collection of Ottoman music, including songs in both Turkish and Greek.<sup>92</sup>

It is moreover noteworthy that one of the oldest extant manuscripts in Hampartsum notation – written in Armeno-Turkish and possibly an autograph of Limōnčean – contains a *peşrev* ascribed to Peloponnēsios (‘P’ēt’ragi Lampatariges’).<sup>93</sup> As a unique occurrence of Peloponnēsios’ name in the available corpus of manuscripts in Hampartsum notation, this suggests that secular Ottoman compositions were at least occasionally transmitted between Greek Orthodox and Armenian musicians in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Istanbul. An Armenian contrafactum on a melody attributed to Peloponnēsios is also found in Gapasaxalean’s *Grk’oyk or koč’i nowagaran* of 1794.<sup>94</sup> In short, while the historical accuracy of the above anecdotes may be questionable, they nevertheless point towards the interconnectedness of musical developments amongst the Greek Orthodox and Armenian communities. In particular, they touch upon questions of agency, precedence and mutual influence in the process of musical reform in the diverse ethno-religious environment of the Ottoman capital during the nineteenth century.

The parallel development of Armenian and Greek musical traditions is most clearly demonstrated by the striking – and surely not coincidental – fact that Byzantine notation underwent a modernising reform at precisely the same historical moment as the invention of Hampartsum notation.<sup>95</sup> Written in Istanbul during the 1810s, the so-called *Mega Theōrētikon* of Chrysanthos of Madytos (1770?–1846) sets out the details of the reformed notation system or ‘New Method’, which was widely adopted during the nineteenth century and remains in use today.<sup>96</sup> Chrysanthos and his collaborators, Chourmouzios the Archivist (1770?–1840) and

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<sup>92</sup> Björnsthål 1781, 13. Cf. Aksoy 2003, 162.

<sup>93</sup> TA110, p. 64. See Chapter Six for a discussion of the provenance and dating of the collections. The piece is in *makam rast* and the rhythmic cycle *düyek*. The title ‘Mēvči tērea’ (< Tr. *mevc-i deryā*, i.e. ‘sea waves’) is shared by a *peşrev* in the same mode and rhythmic cycle found in the Cantemir collection (see Wright 1992a, no. 310). This would suggest that the attribution to Peloponnēsios is spurious, or perhaps that he reworked an earlier composition – though the former conclusion seems more likely given that the *peşrev* is not found in manuscripts of Ottoman secular music in Middle Byzantine notation, including those ascribed to Peloponnēsios (see Kalaitzidis 2012, 78–106). It has also been suggested that the ‘Tiryaki’ of some Turkish-language sources is identifiable as ‘Petraki’, and on this rather slender basis a number of other secular compositions are attributed to Peloponnēsios by later tradition (see Öztuna 1990, II, 191–2; Jäger 1996b, 15; Kalaitzidis 2012, 149).

<sup>94</sup> Gapasaxalean 1793, 417 ff. (discussed in Utidjian and Troelsgård, forthcoming).

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Wellesz 1923, 84–7; idem 1927, 62 (also cited in Seidel 1973–4, 77–9).

<sup>96</sup> Chrysanthos of Madytos 1832. Although Patrinelis states that Chrysanthos’ treatise was written in 1818–19 (Patrinelis 1973, 143), an autograph exists from 1816, on the basis of which Hadjiyakoumis dates the composition of the treatise to 1814–15 (cited in Plemmenos 1997, 51, 63; cf. Romanou 2010, 19). The first exposition of the New Method was published in Paris in 1821, while the more substantial *Mega Theōrētikon* was published by Chrysanthos’ pupil Panagiōtes Pelopidēs in Trieste in 1832. See Morgan 1971, Stathis 1979 and Romanou 1990 for summaries of the musical reforms. For an English translation of the *Mega Theōrētikon*, see

Grēgorios the Protōpsaltēs (1778?–1821), known as the ‘three teachers’, were contemporaries of Limōnčean and Bžškean. Like Petros Peloponnēsios, Grēgorios is said to have been skilled in Armenian music, and to have learned to speak Armenian by attending a local church in his youth.<sup>97</sup> Such evidence of personal relations between Armenian and Greek musicians and of mutual influence upon the musical traditions of the two communities suggests that the invention of Hampartsum notation may have been inspired by the reforms of the three teachers, or vice versa.

There are certainly a number of common features between the two historical events: both were precipitated by a sense of cultural decline and assimilation, growing confusion about the interpretation of neumatic notations, and a desire to standardise musical practices that had diverged through oral transmission and the emergence of localised performance styles.<sup>98</sup> The Greek reformers also shared with their Armenian counterparts a rationalistic attitude towards musical performance and transmission, informed to some extent by the Enlightenment, and saw their musical activities as a contribution towards the awakening of the Greek nation. As Panagiōtēs Pelopidēs, a student of Chrysanthos, wrote in his preface to the *Mega Theōrētikon* in 1832, the three teachers ‘in an admirable way...submitted to rules our music, that was up to then unruly...Deservedly therefore, these respectable men should be named **BENEFACTORS OF THE NATION!**’<sup>99</sup> As in the case of Hampartsum notation, which Bžškean tells us had been many years in gestation, the emergence of New Method was preceded by several other attempts at reform during the eighteenth century, including the proposed adoption of European staff notation in 1797.<sup>100</sup> The pedagogical efficiency of the notation systems are emphasised in both cases: the New Method, in an echo of Limōnčean’s boast that he ‘taught men who were like stones within a short time’, enabled Chrysanthos’ students ‘to learn in 10 months what had formerly taken 10 years’.<sup>101</sup>

Further correspondences are illustrated by the many features that Chrysanthos’ and Bžškean’s treatises share. Both works are above all didactic, and are composed in a simple,

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Chrysanthos of Madytos 2010 (trans. Katy Romanou). The latter is based on Romanou 1973, which also contains an extensive introduction and annotations.

<sup>97</sup> Conomos [2016]; Erol 2015, 184n8; Plemmenos 2001, 12; Lingas [2016]; Morgan 1971, 88; Kerovpyan 2003, 33; Romanou 1973, xxiv. Cf. Papadopoulos 1890, 329–31.

<sup>98</sup> Romanou 1990, 89–92. See Erol 2015 for an in-depth discussion of musical reform and cultural politics amongst the Greek Orthodox of nineteenth-century Istanbul.

<sup>99</sup> Chrysanthos of Madytos 2010, 27. Capitals in original. On connections between Chrysanthos and other figures of the neo-Hellenic Enlightenment, see Romanou 2010, 14–16.

<sup>100</sup> Chrysanthos of Madytos 2010, 245–6; Romanou 1990, 90; Erol 2015, 41.

<sup>101</sup> Morgan 1971, 87 (after Papadopoulos 1890, 333). Cf. Romanou 1990, 93n14.

clear style; both authors have a clerical background, and believe that the ultimate purpose of music is to inspire religious devotion; both draw, to differing extents, on Ottoman and European music theory; both rely on scripture and classical Greek sources for their historical sections; and both include discussions of acoustics and the physical effects of music based on classical and more recent European sources.

However, there are important differences between Hampartsum notation and the New Method. Firstly, the reformed Greek notation, although vastly simplified, is still a neumatic notation system, while Hampartsum notation has only a formal relationship to the old *xaz* signs.<sup>102</sup> The New Method also encompassed more wide-ranging musical reforms that included not only notation, but also the system and classification of scales and modes, and led to the production of hundreds of exegeses of earlier notated texts. For obvious reasons, Chrysanthos gives more detailed information about ancient Greek writing on music, and related theoretical subjects such as harmonic ratios and prosodic metres.

Unlike Hampartsum notation, which encountered vigorous resistance from established cantors, the New Method was accepted soon after its invention and promoted in the newly created (third) patriarchal music school from 1815 to 1821, while the three teachers were placed in influential positions in the religious hierarchy.<sup>103</sup> An important factor here was the confessional rivalries that divided the Armenian *millet* throughout the nineteenth century. Whereas Limōnčean and his circle occupied a somewhat marginal position within the Ottoman Armenian community due to their Catholicism, the Greek reformers operated firmly within the institutional context of the Greek Orthodox Church. Partly due to this stronger institutional and social support, Chrysanthine notation was used for printed music publications beginning in 1820, including both Greek liturgical music and the first printed collections of Ottoman music (with lyrics in Greek script).<sup>104</sup> Printed collections of Hampartsum notation, meanwhile, did not appear until the official publication of the Armenian hymnal in around 1875.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Cf. Jäger 1996a, 265–6.

<sup>103</sup> Morgan 1971, 89; Conomos 1988, 101. On the other hand, Stathis points out that despite official support for the New Method, Middle Byzantine notation was still in use in the mid-nineteenth century, defended by figures such as Apostolos Kōnastas (1767?–1840) (Stathis 1979, 178) – who did, however, adopt the New Method during later life (Alexander Lingas, personal communication). See also Erol 2015, 66. On Kōnastas’ treatise on the Old Method (written in around 1800 but frequently copied in the following decades), see Pappas 2007 and Apostolopoulos 2002.

<sup>104</sup> On Greco-Turkish music publications, see Erol 2015, 61–3; Behar 2008a, 244–68; Bardakçı 1993 and Brandl 1989. For a descriptive catalogue of the sources, see Balta 1987.

<sup>105</sup> On the publication of the Armenian hymnal, see Utidjian 2011–12, 63–5 and Kerovpyan 2003, 43–5. See also *infra*, Chapter Seven.

Such differences in the reception history of Hampartsum and Chrysanthine notation point towards different socio-historical dynamics in relation to the Greek Orthodox and Armenian communities of the Ottoman Empire. As discussed above, Greek Orthodox and Armenian elites both participated in local translations of the Enlightenment, based on philological and historical scholarship that led to an enhanced awareness of national heritage and a pragmatic desire to disseminate this knowledge through print and education, which provided a common intellectual framework for musical reform at the dawn of the nineteenth century. This framework, moreover, was mapped onto a shared religious orientation (notwithstanding the Armenian Church's rejection of the Council of Chalcedon or the conversion of some Armenians to Catholicism) and overlapping material conditions, e.g. connections to transimperial networks through involvement in sectors such as banking or commerce, and residence in the same quarters of the Ottoman capital.<sup>106</sup> Indeed, the degree of social contact was so extensive that there existed in Istanbul and its environs communities of Armenian-speaking Orthodox Greeks, who wrote Armenian in Greek characters.<sup>107</sup> Meanwhile, at the elite level, Armenian *amira* families such as the Tiwzeans formed political alliances with Phanariot notables like Stephanos Vogoridēs and the Mousouros family.<sup>108</sup>

But while in the Greek case engagement with the political dimensions of the Enlightenment opened the way to revolutionary movements and the emergence, with British support, of an independent Greek kingdom in 1832, the Armenians remained, until the late nineteenth century, the 'faithful nation' (*millet-i sadıka*). As Robert Walsh observed of the Armenians in 1836:

It may be said ... that of all the Rayas they are the most valuable to the Turkish government. They never embarrass it by revolt against its authority, and they improve its resources by their industry and ingenuity. It is a singular fact, that no Armenian ever showed the slightest sympathy or common feeling with their Christian brethren the Greeks.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> For a detailed social history of the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul in the nineteenth century (with a particular focus on the quarter of Pera), see Anastassiadou 2012. A comparison of communal administrative structures amongst the Greek and Armenian *millets* is found at *ibid.*, 117–19. More wide-ranging studies of Orthodox Greeks in the Ottoman Empire during the same period are found in Gondicas and Issawi 1999, Augustinos 1992 and Clogg 1996.

<sup>107</sup> Clogg 1999, 117.

<sup>108</sup> Philliou 2011, 29, 238n83.

<sup>109</sup> Walsh 1836, II, 432.



Hence, after the 1820s, Armenians began to supersede Greeks in the hierarchy of the Ottoman bureaucracy and in the urban infrastructure of Istanbul.<sup>110</sup> Greek-speaking translators in the Foreign Ministry, for example, were replaced by Armenians, while Armenian migrants from the eastern provinces were increasingly well represented in lower-class occupations in the imperial capital, especially as porters and also in the firefighting force that was created after the destruction of the janissaries.<sup>111</sup> Part of the reason for the rise of Armenians in the imperial bureaucracy was their proficiency in the Turkish language, which moreover enabled them to find positions in Ottoman educational institutions during the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>112</sup>

By contrast, the establishment of an independent Greek kingdom meant that the centre of gravity of the Greek Orthodox community shifted more decisively towards the west, a process encouraged by the philhellenism of European intellectuals and the strategic importance of Greece for the Great Powers. The reforms of the ‘three teachers’, in accordance with the Greek Enlightenment as a whole, resonated with the philhellenist movement in western Europe, and sought to establish a continuous link between classical Greece and modern-day Greeks.<sup>113</sup> This is illustrated, for example, by the fact that Chrysanthos replaced Ottoman–Turkish musical terminology with ancient Greek terms in his treatise.<sup>114</sup>

In the following decades, the reciprocal identification of Greek intellectuals with Europe led the way to further musical reforms, such as the introduction of polyphony into the music of the Greek Orthodox liturgy, initiated by the Viennese Greek community in the 1840s<sup>115</sup> – something that would not become a subject of debate in the Armenian Church until the efforts of Komitas and his contemporaries more than half a century later. The stronger political and cultural links of the Greek Orthodox community with Europe are also demonstrated by Chrysanthos’ greater familiarity with contemporary musicological debates in western languages. The list of European writers on music found in the *Mega Theōrētikōn*, for example,

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<sup>110</sup> Issawi 1999, 3–4. On the ambiguous attitude of the Porte towards Orthodox Greeks in the imperial administration after the 1820s, see Ortaylı 1999 and Kasaba 1999, 85. Cf. Strauss 2003b.

<sup>111</sup> On the shifting proportions of Greeks and Armenians in the Ottoman Foreign Ministry, see Findley 1982. For Armenians in Ottoman state service generally, see Krikorian 1978. On Armenian firefighters, see Philliou 2011, 80. Regarding the occupations of poorer Armenians in Istanbul, see Anastassiadou 2012, 74; Ter Minassian 2005, paras. 12–15 and Quataert 1993, 65 ff.

<sup>112</sup> Issawi 1999, 7; Somel 2001, 129; Adjarian 1980, 62. In a letter published in an Armeno-Turkish newspaper in 1877, Ahmed Midhat ascribed the perceived loyalty of the Armenians to ‘the fact that the Ottoman language is more widespread among the Armenian *millet* than among other populations’ (in Strauss 2005, 251n114).

<sup>113</sup> Romanou 1990, 95.

<sup>114</sup> Plemmenos 1997, 55.

<sup>115</sup> Erol 2014a, 148. For more detailed discussion of the socio-historical context of debates surrounding the use of polyphony and European staff notation in Greek church music, see idem 2015, 97–127.

includes Rameau and Rousseau, while Chrysanthos' theory of aesthetics is based on authors of the German Enlightenment such as Heinrich Christoph Koch (1749–1816).<sup>116</sup>

Yet it is crucial to acknowledge that the New Method, like Hampartsum notation, was not the product simply of European ideological influence, but emerged from the musical and cultural surroundings of Ottoman Istanbul. In spite of the retrospective narrative of emancipation from the 'Turkish yoke', many non-Muslim elites in nineteenth-century Istanbul sought to maintain the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire while also securing their traditional privileges and relative autonomy.<sup>117</sup> Thus, while in general and relative terms the Greek Orthodox community may have been more inclined politically and culturally towards the west, large parts of the population, especially in the imperial capital, remained an integral part of Ottoman society throughout the nineteenth century, and had only distant or even hostile relations with Athens.

Accordingly, the 'three teachers' – like their Armenian counterparts – were deeply involved in local Ottoman music culture.<sup>118</sup> Grēgorios the Protopsaltēs, for example, notated significant amounts of the secular Ottoman repertoire using the New Method.<sup>119</sup> Furthermore, there are many indications in the *Mega Theōrētikon* of Chrysanthos' familiarity with secular Ottoman music and its role in the development of the New Method. These include a comparison of Byzantine with Ottoman modes<sup>120</sup>, an explanation of Ottoman rhythmic cycles (which Greek Orthodox students were taught using the so-called 'düm tek' method of beating the hands on the knees)<sup>121</sup>, and descriptions of Ottoman instruments such as the *ney* and *tanbur*, which Chrysanthos considered most suitable for teaching and demonstrating the theory of the New Method.<sup>122</sup>

As well as European intellectual and musical influences, local Ottoman music practices must therefore be taken into consideration when seeking an analytical framework for the Greek and Armenian reforms of the early nineteenth century. Given the comparatively greater influence of European music on the New Method, this is especially true for the invention of Hampartsum notation. While the *Mega Theōrētikon* engages in a more intimate dialogue with

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<sup>116</sup> Chrysanthos of Madytos 2010, 232; Plemmenos 1997, 58–60.

<sup>117</sup> On the political positioning of Ottoman Greek elites, see Philliou 2011; Anastassiadou 2012, 212–14; Veremis 1999 and Clogg 1996, X.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Erol 2015, 61–3.

<sup>119</sup> Kalaitzidis 2012, 71, 59–60. He is also reported to have studied with İsmail Dede Efendi (Lingas [2016]).

<sup>120</sup> Chrysanthos of Madytos 2010, 133–5.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid, 88–9, 97.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, 49n4, 192–4.

Europe, Bžškean's treatise shows more affinity with local Ottoman music practices and theoretical paradigms. Indeed, as I will show in the following chapter, the latter may have been the most dominant element in the development of the notation system, and was acknowledged as such by Bžškean.

Chrysanthos does not mention Armenian music in his treatise, and in the light of the many references to Greek musical practices found in Bžškean and other Armenian sources it may seem reasonable to argue that Hampartsum notation was conceived in simple imitation of the New Method. However, *Eražštut'iwn* was composed several years before the New Method had become established even amongst Greek Orthodox cantors, and although Bžškean states that the reformers borrowed aspects of Greek music practice, he does not give any indication of specific features of Hampartsum notation that were derived from either Chrysanthine or Middle Byzantine notation. On the contrary, he describes (Middle) Byzantine notation as 'obscure and imperfect' (*mut' ew ankatar*), and claims that Limōnčean struggled – and ultimately failed – to establish a reformed notation method for Armenian church music on the basis of this system.<sup>123</sup>

The conviction of the reformers that Hampartsum notation was more 'ordered' (*kargawor*) or subject to 'rules' (*kanon*) than both Middle Byzantine notation and the Armenian *xaz* may be related in part to the neumatic character of the latter systems. As Bžškean explained, whereas individual *xaz* functioned as a kind of signature or 'monogram' (*p'akagir*) of a melodic phrase, in the reformed system the same symbols (or a selection thereof) would represent discrete pitches.<sup>124</sup> Thus, while melodic signs in neumatic notation systems indicate single or combined intervals (e.g. an ascending second) relative to the starting or preceding note, the pitch symbols of Hampartsum notation each represent a single degree (e.g. 'd') within a general scale. In this aspect, Hampartsum notation more closely resembles the letter-based notation methods that were developed on the basis of the Ottoman system of named pitches (*perdes*), and which were adopted by a small number of theorists and musicians during the eighteenth century (see Chapter Four).

It is worth noting that similar methods (based on alphabetic representation of individual pitches) were known by Greek Orthodox cantors, and indeed were proposed and rejected by the Church before the Chrysanthine system eventually came to prevail.<sup>125</sup> The fact that Greek

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<sup>123</sup> Bžškean 1997, 73, 94. Elsewhere, after mentioning the use of music notation in Greek and Latin antiquity, Bžškean writes that Guido of Arezzo invented a five-line staff (sic) because 'the neumes (*xazer*) or *not'a* of the ancients [were] extremely difficult and obscure (*xist mt'in*)' (ibid, 71).

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, 95.

<sup>125</sup> Stathis 1972. My thanks to Alexander Lingas for providing a reference for this point.

Orthodox musicians chose to retain a (simplified) neumatic system rather than adopt a system based on a quite different principle of pitch encoding (and which was closer to methods used in secular Ottoman music) may reflect the more entrenched institutionalisation of neumatic notation within the tradition of Greek Orthodox church music. According to Bžškean, the *xaz* were only dimly understood by Armenian cantors at the turn of the nineteenth century, and the notation system was used mainly as an auxiliary tool in printed hymnals and liturgical books. By contrast, throughout the Ottoman period Greek Orthodox cantors used Middle Byzantine notation to compile large and numerous manuscript collections of both sacred and secular music, as well as for theoretical and didactic works, and to record newly composed pieces or exegeses of older compositions. For this reason, there may have been more resistance to abandoning the neumatic principle – and less incentive to do so – in favour of an entirely different method of pitch representation, rather than simplifying and retheorizing a system that was deeply embedded in educational, liturgical and musical practice.

Certainly, the *xaz* were an integral part of Armenian liturgical and ritual praxis, and continued to be used long after the introduction of Hampartsum notation.<sup>126</sup> Like their Greek counterparts, the Armenian reformers also purposefully preserved elements of the earlier notation system in order to provide at least a semblance of continuity with established practice. Yet the less vigorous tradition of neumatic notation in Armenian church music may have facilitated the acceptance of a substantially different method of writing music. While Limōnčean and his students did – thanks to the influence of their *amira* patrons – have some opportunities to teach the new notation system within the institutional framework of the Church, they faced continual opposition (in some cases leading to their dismissal) from other cantors and their supporters.<sup>127</sup> However, this seems to have had more to do with internecine power struggles than with the technical characteristics of the notation system itself, which, presumably thanks in part to this very resistance, was used by Armenian musicians to notate secular music for several decades before it was generally adopted by the Church.

Relatedly, the acceptance of the reformed system by Armenian musicians may stem from their deeper integration in the milieu of secular Ottoman music, which, together with the compatibility of this writing system with the theoretical and pedagogical structures of the latter,

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<sup>126</sup> Both the *xaz* and Hampartsum notation are still used by Armenian cantors in Turkey, with the *xaz* functioning as a prompt for particular phrases or modulations when singing melodies that are largely transmitted orally (as I observed during visits to Armenian churches in Istanbul and discussions with the singers Nišan Çalgıcıyan and Murat İclinalca in 2013–14). On the contemporary situation of Armenian church musicians in Turkey, see Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 71–3.

<sup>127</sup> For a summary of these events, Ertlbauer 1985, 255–74.

led to the adoption of Hampartsum notation by Muslim musicians from the mid-nineteenth century onwards (see Chapter Five). In broader socio-cultural terms, the adoption by Muslim musicians of Hampartsum notation, rather than Chrysanthine notation, can be linked to the greater assimilation of the Armenians to Ottoman–Turkish culture (demonstrated by their linguistic habits), and, conversely, the more independent, nationalistic and firmly institutionalised character of Greek Orthodox cultural life.

To sum up, the simultaneous emergence of Hampartsum notation and the New Method in the 1810s was due to common historical, social and ideological factors, but their subsequent development demonstrates that there were also important differences separating the Greek Orthodox and Armenian communities of Istanbul and their respective musical practices. Both writing systems were created with reference not only to Armenian or Greek Orthodox sacred music, which interacted closely over a period of several centuries, but also to local Ottoman practices. However, the Greek musical reforms were more extensive, had greater institutional support and were more closely connected with developments in Europe, the latter reflecting the wider political situation and the influence of philhellenism. Although the invention of Hampartsum notation was influenced by similar factors, such as the impact of the Enlightenment and its translation into the Mxit‘arist revival, it differed from the New Method in its technical aspects, which bore a greater resemblance to previous Ottoman systems, and in its subsequent adoption by Muslim musicians.

Ethno-nationalism and classicising historiographic models partly derived from European scholarship have served to obscure the Ottoman context of both Greek and Armenian liturgical musics and their respective notational reforms. In both cases, the orientalist and philhellenist orientations of western scholarship reinforced a nationalistic tendency amongst native scholars to reject ‘Turkish’ elements as expressions of Ottoman political hegemony, especially in the decades around 1900. It is therefore important to distinguish between the reforms of Chrysanthos or Bžškean (and their collaborators) and the more overtly nationalistic efforts of the later nineteenth century, when Greek or Armenian liturgical musics (together with ‘folk’ music) came increasingly to represent, as Merih Erol writes, the ‘authentic self of the *ethnos*’.<sup>128</sup> Greek and Armenian music histories are thus intertwined not only through extensive socio-cultural contacts, but also due to the influence of common intellectual paradigms originating in Enlightenment perceptions of the Ottoman Empire. Relatedly, the study of both liturgical

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<sup>128</sup> Erol 2015, 128.

traditions has played a significant role in the construction of historiographical narratives separating ‘eastern’ and ‘western’ cultures, which continue to inform musicology as an academic discipline.

I have argued that *Eražšut’iwn* must be read in relation to contemporary European texts and intellectual developments, but also to parallel debates amongst neighbouring communities in the Ottoman Empire, as well as the diverse social environment of the imperial capital. In this way, I have attempted to challenge the idea of direct western influence as a paradigm for the invention of Hampartsum notation, considering it instead as the product of multiple factors, both local and transimperial. Links created through trade, scholarship and missionary activity enabled the circulation of European technologies, texts and ideas amongst Ottoman elites, often through the channels of Greek Orthodox and Armenian diasporic networks. However, such flows were not unidirectional, and were complicated by the internal social dynamics of the Ottoman Empire, which allowed for extensive interactions between different confessional communities.

The transcultural circulation of reformist or modernising ideas can also be observed outside the context of the imperial capital, in relation to contemporary musical developments in the Arab provinces of the Levant. As Salah Eddin Maraqa has recently shown, the founding text of modern Arabic music theory, like the works of Bžškean and Chrysanthos, was the product of a complex interaction between local contexts and intra- and transimperial flows.<sup>129</sup> Mīkhā’il Mushāqa’s theoretical exposition of an equal-tempered quarter-tone scale, written in 1840, was written partly in response to an intellectual dispute between his teacher Muḥammad al-‘Aṭṭār and (apparently) an Ottoman official who was resident in Damascus in the 1820s. At the same time, it reflects Mushāqa’s engagement with music-theoretical texts that circulated in the urban centres of the empire as part of the increasingly influential culture of print. These included European works such as Villoteau’s *Description de l’Égypte*, but also the recently published *Mega Theōrētikon*.<sup>130</sup>

Both texts were accessible to Mushāqa – in addition to Arabic-language works – thanks to his cosmopolitan background: born in Lebanon as the son of a Greek Orthodox merchant from Corfu, he learned mathematics, astronomy and music from local Arab scholars before

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<sup>129</sup> Maraqa 2015b. Mushāqa’s treatise did not appear in print until 1899, though a paraphrase of the contents was published in English soon after its composition (Smith 1847). See Maraqa 2015b, 341n3 for further bibliographical details.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid, 352. Villoteau’s work is also cited separately in the *Mega Theōrētikon* itself: see Chrysanthos of Madytos 2010, 233n79.

studying medicine with Italian and French physicians in Damascus and Cairo. While Mushāqa's text may not have been intended as a manifesto for musical reform in the same way as those of Bžškean and Chrysanthos, it nonetheless illustrates the interconnectedness and multidirectionality of musical debates within the Ottoman Empire, as well as the mobility of Ottoman elites and the material networks that facilitated the transcultural circulation of texts, ideas and musical practices.

The concurrent appearance of *Eražštut'iwn*, *Mega Theōrētikon* and Mushāqa's *Risāla* in the early decades of the nineteenth century points towards a broad set of intellectual and musical concerns that connected different confessional groups both with each other and with the world beyond the empire. However, upon closer examination, important differences emerge regarding the relative impact of the various influences that were integrated into projects of musical reform. In the case of Hampartsum notation, as I have suggested, the performance practices and theoretical paradigms of secular Ottoman music played an especially important role both in the formation of the notation system and in its later dissemination. In the following chapter, I will therefore focus on the place of Hampartsum notation within the history of Ottoman–Turkish music writing. As well as considering the direct influence of the Ottoman musical tradition on the Armenian notational reform, I will discuss commonalities and divergences in the practical aims and intellectual motivations underlying earlier Ottoman notation systems. As I will argue, while Hampartsum notation was in many senses an extension of pre-existing Ottoman practices, a more detailed investigation of the historical and intellectual contexts surrounding the emergence of different notation systems shows that it also represented a fundamental shift in the conception of writing as a means of musical transmission.

## 4. Ottoman Traditions of Music Writing

In Chapters Two and Three, I argued that the invention of Hampartsum notation must be situated in relation to wider historical developments amongst the Armenian and Greek Orthodox communities of Istanbul. These developments, including the Mxit'arist revival and the neo-Hellenic Enlightenment, were linked to the creative translation of European texts, practices and ideas into local idioms. Furthermore, they took place within the context of the increasing entanglement of European and Ottoman histories, in which the non-Muslim communities of the empire occupied a prominent role in both political and cultural terms. Yet as I have emphasised, the complex reasons behind the invention of Hampartsum notation cannot be reduced to the impact of 'the West', and such assumptions are symptomatic of a historiographic discourse which itself has its origins in Enlightenment perceptions of the Ottoman Empire. In fact, although the engagement of the Armenian musical reformers with intellectual developments in Europe was important in ideological terms, European notational practices themselves had little direct influence on Hampartsum notation as a technology.

Part of the reason for this was the close relationship between writing practices and ethno-religious identity, which gained added significance in the context of linguistic reforms aimed at unifying the diverse communities of the Armenian diaspora. Yet a further reason, according to Bžškean, was the inability of staff notation to accurately represent the melodic intervals and ornamental details of what he refers to as 'Eastern' (*arewelean*) music.<sup>1</sup> Such comments show that in the early nineteenth century Armenian and Turkish musics were perceived as belonging to a shared sound world, resembling each other more than they did the unfamiliar practices of the 'Latins'. However, by the late nineteenth century, the imperatives of ethnic nationalism increasingly demanded that Armenian sacred music be regarded as an expression of national character, and thus as distinct from the music of the 'Turkish oppressors'. This perception was reinforced by the nationalist orientations of the nascent discipline of musicology, as well as an ideological belief in the historical continuity of the musics of ancient Greece, the Eastern Churches and modern Europe, which excised Greek Orthodox and Armenian musical practices from their Ottoman context.

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<sup>1</sup> Bžškean 1997, 103–104.



Although ‘Turkish’ influence in Armenian liturgical music has often been portrayed as a recent phenomenon – and hence a sign of degeneration – long-standing interactions with neighbouring Islamic cultures and a shared Greek musico-philosophical heritage meant that musical contacts and overlaps existed even in the medieval period.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the Armenian reformers of the early nineteenth century were deeply integrated into the social and cultural environment of Ottoman Istanbul, and were active participants in the secular Ottoman music tradition. The clearest illustration of this is Bžškean’s treatise itself. As described in Chapter Two, *Eražštut’iwn* supplies limited information about Armenian church music, yet offers detailed descriptions of contemporary Ottoman music practices. Indeed, while Bžškean acknowledges the varied influences that contributed to the development of Hampartsum notation, he places particular emphasis on ‘Turkish’ (*tački*) music.

Thus, he states that ‘during the composition of this work, it was necessary that in some places we should follow the method of Greek music, and in some places we would apply the method of European music, and in many places that we would give examples of Turkish [music]’.<sup>3</sup> He goes on to explain that

Turkish songs being composed more rhythmically than ours, it was necessary that we include examples of their *pešrevs*, and that we explain [things] upon their instruments, such as the *tanbur*, *keman* and so on. And because the Turkish *pešrevs* are more ordered and rhythmic than all other melodies or songs, for that reason, without touching our melodies, we had to explain many things with them.<sup>4</sup>

Accordingly, technical terms related to music are usually given in Ottoman Turkish as well as, or even instead of, Armenian. In a general sense, this reflects the linguistic situation of Ottoman Armenians, many of whom were Turcophone. Yet it also implies that knowledge of Ottoman music was commonplace enough for Bžškean to expect these terms (and the concepts or practices they refer to) to be understood by his readers. This is supported by the fact that when he describes Armenian church modes, he does so by analogy with presumably well-known Ottoman *makams*.<sup>5</sup> More explicitly, Bžškean remarks that ‘now most of our musicians

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<sup>2</sup> For a comparison of medieval Armenian and Arabo-Persian writings on music in the light of their common Greek sources, see Arevšatyan 1996–7. An example of the use of Persian musical terminology in Armenian writing on music from the thirteenth century is found in Mahé 1997.

<sup>3</sup> Bžškean 1997, 74.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 74–5.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 137–8, 142–3.

learn music [by means of] the Turkish *peşrev*', suggesting that Armenian musicians learned secular Ottoman music as a matter of course during this period.<sup>6</sup>

Given such clear indications of the Armenian reformers' involvement with secular Ottoman music, it may seem reasonable to conclude that Hampartsum notation was directly inspired by one of the Ottoman writing systems that were developed before 1800. However, previous literature in Ottoman music studies has dealt with this question inadequately. On the one hand, Hampartsum notation has been regarded as simply another example of a long tradition of 'Turkish' notation systems, regardless of the particular historical circumstances or ethno-religious, linguistic and cultural contexts in which these different writing systems emerged. On the other, it is often assumed that the use of notation in Ottoman music was necessarily the result of 'western influence', again with little consideration of the historical complexities involved in the processes of cultural contact and exchange between Europe and the Ottoman world.

In what follows, I will attempt to determine how earlier Ottoman treatises on notation compare with *Eražšut'wn* in terms of the desire to rationalise or standardise musical transmission according to a 'western' model, the circumstances of their composition and their intended readership, and the reception in Ottoman music circles of the notation methods that they describe. While demonstrating the paramount importance of secular Ottoman music in the formation of Hampartsum notation, I will also challenge the assumption that the latter was directly inspired by one of these previous methods. As I will show, although there are points of contact and similarity between Hampartsum notation and earlier notation systems, a consideration of the wider intellectual and cultural contexts in which they emerged shows that the invention of Hampartsum notation signalled a new conception of music writing, which was closely related to the broader historical developments described in previous chapters. At the same time, however, the circulation in Istanbul of several independent notation methods, whose underlying principles were nonetheless derived from a shared culture of music pedagogy and performance, contributed to the adoption of Hampartsum notation amongst both Muslim and non-Muslim musicians during the following decades.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 131.

#### 4.1. Notation and the Historiography of Ottoman Music

Previous scholarship on notation in Ottoman music has typically assumed that the relatively large and diverse corpus of notated sources, unevenly distributed across a period of several centuries, forms part of a stable, continuous tradition. From this perspective, Hampartsum notation is seen as the result of an evolutionary process, emerging out of a long tradition of Ottoman music writing in which each system is not only successive but cumulative. Thus, Eugenia Popescu-Judetzu refers to a centuries-long ‘struggle for musical literacy’<sup>7</sup>, while Ralf Martin Jäger argues that Hampartsum notation ‘marked both the high point and the end point of a process that began around the year 1700 with the development of the notation systems of Nâyî Osman Dede and Cantemir’.<sup>8</sup> This idea is also present in nationalist approaches to music history, which maintain that all notation methods, including those of the pre-Ottoman period, belong, as Murat Bardakçı has claimed, to the ‘1000-year past of Turkish notation.’<sup>9</sup>

A contrasting view, associated primarily with Cem Behar, holds that notation is fundamentally alien to Ottoman–Turkish musical culture, which for most of its history has relied on oral transmission.<sup>10</sup> This argument, which might be described as ‘neo-traditionalist’, is based on the dichotomous opposition of ‘oral’ versus ‘written’ music cultures, which maps closely onto the binary divide between ‘eastern’ and ‘western’ civilisations. Within this framework, the use of notation is necessarily perceived not as emerging from within the Ottoman musical tradition itself, but as something introduced from outside, as an impingement on an ‘authentic’, ‘eastern’ culture by the dual forces of modernity and westernisation.<sup>11</sup>

This narrative fits well with the assumption that change or innovation in the Ottoman Empire, for better or for worse, invariably resulted from European influence. Walter Feldman, for example, has argued that ‘the impetus toward the fixing of the [Ottoman] repertoire in notation [was] almost certainly a response to the stimulus of European musicians’, since the use of notation is ‘an essentially Western concept’.<sup>12</sup> In a related sense, the idea of a ‘struggle for musical literacy’ implies a progressive march towards modernity, in which all notation methods are part of a consistent effort to introduce ‘western’ concepts of systematisation and

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<sup>7</sup> Popescu-Judetzu 1996, 12.

<sup>8</sup> Jäger 1996a, 268.

<sup>9</sup> Cited in Uslu and Doğrusöz Dışiaçık 2009, 2 (cf. Behar 1987, 50).

<sup>10</sup> Behar 2006a, 1992, 1987.

<sup>11</sup> See also e.g. Ayangil 2008; Beşiroğlu 2015, 1998; Gill-Gürtan 2011b.

<sup>12</sup> Feldman 1996, 25, 31. More recently, Feldman has written of ‘Cantemir’s Western inspired effort to notate the earliest surviving repertoire’ (Feldman 2015, 128).

rationalisation. Thus, Popescu-Judetiz argues that ‘the purpose of [Cantemir’s] new theory based upon music literacy was to place music education within a pragmatic modern foundation’, while Feldman sees evidence of the same ‘westernising’ motives in the notation methods of Nâyî Osman Dede and Tanburi Arut‘in.<sup>13</sup>

The argument that the use of notation in Ottoman music was the result of western influence is problematic for several reasons. Not least, it ignores the fact that notation had been used in Greek Orthodox and Armenian churches since the medieval period. It therefore contributes to the perception of non-Muslims as separate from Ottoman society, rather than an integral part of it. Furthermore, by suggesting that notation is ‘an essentially Western concept’, its use amongst non-Muslim musicians becomes confirmation of their cultural and political alignment with Europe. It is in this sense that Kurt Reinhard, for example, could argue that Limōnčean was an ‘outsider’ who introduced a ‘completely new’ notation system to Ottoman music.<sup>14</sup> In a similar way, Cantemir is portrayed as an agent of westernisation, whose use of notation is necessarily an expression of his ‘European’ background. Such arguments are based on an anachronistic understanding of cultural identity, in which the internal complexity of Ottoman imperial society and its entanglement with Europe are reduced to simple binary divisions between ‘westernised’ Christians and ‘conservative’ Muslims.

A further reason for doubting the westernisation hypothesis is that the concept of notation had in fact existed in Islamic music writing since the Abbasid era. While it is true that alphanumeric notation was used by the so-called Systematists mainly as a theoretical tool, it has been suggested by Eckhard Neubauer that it may also have been used in performance and composition.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, what are often regarded as characteristically modern, western concepts, such as the notion of fidelity to a composer’s intentions, were already articulated in the late medieval period by writers such as ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī (d. 1435) and ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Binā’ī (d. 1513).<sup>16</sup> While other aspects of Systematist theory may have been obscure to educated Ottoman musicians, the concept of notation itself was not entirely alien to them. Indeed, as I will argue below, there is good reason to suppose that the alphanumeric notations developed during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were inspired by Systematist models.

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<sup>13</sup> Popescu-Judetiz 1999, 40; Feldman 1996, 31.

<sup>14</sup> Reinhard 1967, 579.

<sup>15</sup> Neubauer 2010–11, 262–3; idem 1997, 321, 327–9 (thanks to Salah Eddin Maraqa for bringing this point to my attention). For further information on the Systematist school, see also Wright 1978, 1994, 1995 and Neubauer 2008–2009.

<sup>16</sup> Wright 2000, 13n44; idem 1994, 508.

However, this should not be interpreted as confirmation of the nationalist argument that the use of notation in Turkey has a ‘1000-year past’. Despite the widespread belief that figures such as al-Marāghī were ethnically Turkish, Systematist writers and texts belonged to a Persianate cultural sphere. As Walter Feldman has shown, the incorporation of al-Marāghī into the narrative of Turkish music history was closely connected to the process of nation-building during the early Republican era.<sup>17</sup> While the letter-based notations of the Ottoman period appear to have a genealogical relationship to those of the Systematists, they were created in the context of a distinct performance tradition that emerged during the seventeenth century, shaped by the specific conditions of musical life at the Ottoman court and in the imperial capital. They do not, therefore, attest to the continuity of musical practices themselves, but to the retranslation of certain aspects of Systematist thought into a new musical and cultural context.

Furthermore, the nationalist paradigm, which to a certain extent has also been adopted by western scholars of Ottoman music, overlooks the existence of a parallel tradition of Greek and Armenian music writing. This neglect has fostered the assumption that all Ottoman notation methods, including those developed by Greek Orthodox or Armenian musicians, belong to a single ‘Turkish’ tradition.<sup>18</sup> However, notation methods such as those of Tanburi Arut‘in or Limōnčean, although developed with reference to the theoretical conventions and performance practices of secular Ottoman music, bore no direct relation to the letter-based notations transmitted in Persian- and Turkish-language texts. As technologies, these notation systems derived instead from writing practices associated with the musics of the Greek Orthodox or Armenian Churches. The idea that there was a homogeneous tradition of Ottoman music writing thus fails to distinguish between the various confessional communities and textual practices that co-existed in the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, it endorses nationalist interpretations of Ottoman music history by assuming the priority of the Turkish written tradition.

There were, then, two broad streams of notational practice that could provide inspiration for the use of notation in Ottoman music: on the one hand, the letter-based notations of the Systematist theorists, and on the other the neume-based systems of Greek and Armenian church music. A third possible source of influence, which is implied by the westernisation hypothesis, is European staff notation. As I will show below, there is no evidence of staff notation having any significant impact on Ottoman notational practices before the nineteenth century. However,

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<sup>17</sup> Feldman 1990–91. On the life of al-Marāghī, the musical culture of his time and his importance as a historical figure, see Neubauer 1997, 321 ff. and Bardakçı 1986a.

<sup>18</sup> Feldman acknowledges the importance of Greek and Armenian traditions of notation in a more recent article: see Feldman 2015, 88–9.

a consideration of attitudes towards staff notation in relation to Ottoman music can reveal some of the ideological beliefs that underpin the narrative of westernisation. At the same time, by shedding light on Ottoman and European attitudes towards music writing, it can help us to understand the historical context in which local notation systems developed.

The earliest use of staff notation to record the Ottoman repertoire, apart from the incidental transcriptions of European travellers, is associated with the figure of Ali Ufuki (ca. 1610–75).<sup>19</sup> In a similar way to Cantemir, Ali Ufuki exemplifies the multi-layered identities and conflicting allegiances of actors in the early modern Ottoman world. Born in Lviv as Wojciech Bobowski, he converted to Islam after being captured by Tatars and becoming an interpreter and musician at the Ottoman court. While fully assimilated to Ottoman cultural practices, like other ‘renegades’ Ali Ufuki also maintained close relationships with European diplomats and visitors to Istanbul.<sup>20</sup> His linguistic and cultural versatility further enabled him to represent the Ottoman Empire to European readers through his publications, most notably in his account of palace life, *Serai Enderun*, first published in Vienna in 1667.<sup>21</sup>

Ali Ufuki’s two manuscript collections of the Ottoman courtly (and popular) repertoire were recorded in staff notation for his own use, and were incorporated into private European libraries during his lifetime or shortly afterwards.<sup>22</sup> They did not, then, have an impact on later Ottoman notation systems; Cantemir, who arrived Istanbul only a few years after Ali Ufuki’s death, appears to have been unaware of their existence.<sup>23</sup> However, Ali Ufuki’s account of the reactions of other court musicians to his practice of transcribing the repertoire is worth examining more closely:

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<sup>19</sup> For biographical information on Ali Ufuki/Wojciech Bobowski/Albertus Bobovius, see Behar 2008a, 17–55; Neudecker 2005, 1997, 1996 and Haug 2016. I am grateful to Dr Haug for providing me with a copy of the latter paper prior to publication.

<sup>20</sup> On the transcultural networks of Ottoman renegades, see Graf 2014.

<sup>21</sup> Bobovius 1667. The original text was written in Italian in around 1665 and was published in 1679 by Cornelio Magni (Bobovius 1679). A French translation dating from 1686 also exists in manuscript, and has been published as Bobovius 1999 (Turkish translation: Bobovius 2002). See the introduction to the latter edition by Annie Berthier and Stephanos Yerasimos for further bibliographical information.

<sup>22</sup> Ali Ufuki’s most well-known collection of Ottoman music, dating from around 1650, is the *Mecmū‘a-yı sâz u söz* (British Library, Ms. Sloane 3114). A facsimile edition has been published by Şükrü Elçin (1976), and a complete transcription into staff notation by Hakan Cevher (2003). A more miscellaneous collection, probably compiled earlier, is found at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Ms. Turc 292), which has recently been critically edited by Judith Haug (Haug 2017). A detailed discussion of Turc 292 is also found in Behar 2008b. In addition, Ali Ufuki prepared a partial translation into Turkish, with musical transcriptions, of the Genevan Psalter: see Behar 1990; Haug 2013; eadem 2010, 481–578.

<sup>23</sup> For detailed comparisons of Ali Ufuki’s notations with those of Cantemir, see See Wright 2000, 546–63, 576–9; Feldman 1996, 417–31 and *passim*; and Olley 2012. See also Feldman 2015 for a recent historical reappraisal of Ali Ufuki’s music collections.

All music is learned by heart, and it appears miraculous to them to write it down. [When] having my lessons I would write them down in order not to forget them; seeing this skill of mine, the Turkish musicians greatly esteemed me. I was made the director of the choir [and] the other pages, who would easily forget [the pieces they had learned], would come and ask me to refresh their memory of the instrumental pieces and songs, for which they thanked me, indeed they wished me to teach them how to write [music]; I excused myself by saying that it was a lengthy and difficult skill [to acquire] – I did not aspire to anything other than freedom, and so tried to avoid every delay.<sup>24</sup>

It may well have been true that other court musicians were impressed by Ali Ufuki's ability to transcribe and read music. However, it is also important to bear in mind the context in which these comments were published, and the preconceptions held by readers of his description of the inner workings of the Ottoman palace. Such texts need to be approached with caution especially because the trope of the Turks' ignorance of notation was often closely tied to the portrayal of the Ottoman Empire as uncivilised and historically stagnant.

In the less sympathetic account of François-Emmanuel Guignard de Saint-Priest, for example, who was French ambassador at Istanbul between 1768 and 1785, we read:

... one must conclude, with assurance, that the Turks do not have a communicative theory of Music, and moreover that they do not possess, whether for the voice or for instruments, anything other than a simple routine adapted to their taste. If it were otherwise, Musicians in Turkey would instruct themselves in their Art by recourse to the same principles as those that are known in Europe, and would not be constrained to a simple exercise of memory or imitation, which is effaced as fast as it multiplies. In a word, nothing so proves the truth of what has just been said, than the extreme surprise, or rather the admiration, that the most learned people in Turkey display upon seeing Europeans who know Music notate their airs, and render them immediately afterwards, either by singing, or on instruments. This is for them a species of magic, or at the very least an Art above their comprehension.<sup>25</sup>

These comments are made shortly after Saint-Priest has approvingly cited Cantemir's own claim to have introduced a notation method to the Turks, which, Saint-Priest laments, 'is today totally abandoned, and as little known as if it had never existed.'<sup>26</sup> Thus, the idea that notation was necessarily introduced into Ottoman music by a 'European' as part of an effort to modernise a stagnant tradition has its origins in the Enlightenment discourse of Ottoman

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<sup>24</sup> Bobovius 1679, 551–2. Cf. idem 1667, 76–7; idem 1999, 94–5; idem 2002, 77–8. The passage was changed to the third person in Pierre de Girardin's French translation: see Berthier and Yerasimos' note in Bobovius 1999, 154n240.

<sup>25</sup> Cited in Guys 1776, 32–3.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 32.

degeneracy.<sup>27</sup> As Saint-Priest shows, this was closely connected with the figure of Cantemir and, crucially, to the latter's own statements in his *History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire*. However, as I will argue below, the origins of Cantemir's notation system need to be carefully reconsidered in light of his ambiguous identity, the reception of his works in Europe, and the broader tradition of Ottoman music writing.

In fact, reactions of surprise or admiration regarding the use of notation were not limited to encounters with Europeans. As we have seen in previous chapters, Greek Orthodox or Armenian musicians such as Pelopōnnesios and Limōnčean – who were also, of course, performers and composers in the secular Ottoman tradition – were regarded with admiration, and sometimes distrust, on account of their facility with notation. Nor was it not only Ottoman Christians who aroused such feelings. The Mevlevi musician and poet Nayi Osman Dede (1652–1729), for example, was described by a contemporary chronicler as follows:

In addition to all his other learning, he had attained and achieved such mind-bendingly high skill in the science of music that, upon hearing a *kar* or a *nakş* only once, he could convert it to his own account [i.e. memorise it]. Consequently, he would write down melodies and tunes as if he were writing down words and letters. Writing according to his own conventions the manner of movement of the high and low notes and those above and below, he somehow recorded them, so that, putting them on the surface of paper with numbers drawn on it, he would sing that *kar* or *beste*, with its embellishments, neither excessively nor deficiently. It was manifest to the men of knowledge, whose information about this science is complete, that this singular command was boundlessly difficult; and thus, to find someone who is more perfect than the men of perfection is well and truly rare.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, while it may indeed have been regarded as an exceptional skill, especially amongst Muslim musicians, notation was far from being completely unknown within the Ottoman musical tradition. As I will show below, the limited use of notation amongst Ottoman musicians was due not to technological backwardness, but to its relative cultural value, its degree of integration into larger institutional structures, and its differing role in performance and pedagogy.

The notion that Ottoman musicians did not adopt 'the same principles as those that are known in Europe' due to simple ignorance or inability is based on the premise that European

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<sup>27</sup> That this was connected to a preconception of Muslims not only as unlettered but also as 'enemies of the arts' is indicated by Voltaire's remark that he did not wish 'to see Greece governed by people who know neither how to read nor how to write, dance or sing' (in Augustinos 1994, 143).

<sup>28</sup> Sâlim Efendi 1315/1898, 635. Cf. Öztuna 1990, II, 169. 'Sâlim' is the pen name of the poet Mirzâzâde Mehmed Emîn (d. 1739 or 1743). See Stewart-Robinson 2012.



modes of being in the world were inherently superior to those of the Ottomans, and perceived as such by the latter. Yet, at least before the nineteenth century, few Ottomans would have regarded European cultural habits as worthy of imitation. This was particularly so in the realm of musical performance. The candid depiction by Fougeret de Monbron of a musical encounter in mid-eighteenth-century Istanbul is highly revealing in this regard. Having described his own distaste and lack of comprehension in response to a concert of Turkish music, which would have been familiar to European readers of such accounts, Monbron goes on to describe how ‘when we wanted to give a little taste of our own style to these people, our instruments and our voices were not applauded except with bursts of laughter as scandalous as they were humiliating.’<sup>29</sup> Rather than being perceived as inherently superior, then, European performance practices were seen by Ottoman musicians – unsurprisingly – as aesthetically bizarre, and certainly not appropriate to be imitated or transferred into local idioms of music-making.<sup>30</sup>

Likewise, there is little reason to suppose that it would have appeared desirable to Ottoman musicians to import a foreign writing system such as staff notation, which had no cultural or technical relevance to local performance practices. In short, Ottoman notation methods must be evaluated in terms of their own historical and cultural contexts, rather than by reference to European notational practices or through the paradigm of unilateral western influence. Moreover, differences and interactions between various confessional communities and textual traditions need to be taken into account in order to arrive at a more nuanced and accurate history of Ottoman music writing. In turn, this can help to clarify the complex series of events and cross-fertilisations that led to the emergence of Hampartsum notation. With this in mind, I will now turn to an analysis of the Ottoman writing systems that emerged during the long eighteenth century, comparing them with Hampartsum notation in terms of their supposed relation to ‘westernising’ or ‘modernising’ trends in Ottoman music. The most appropriate place to begin – perhaps not, as I will argue, chronologically, but in terms of the dominant narratives of Ottoman music history – is with the figure of Dimitrie Cantemir.

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<sup>29</sup> Monbron 1761, 27–9. Also cited in Coller 2010, 465.

<sup>30</sup> See Wright 2013 for a discussion of Ottoman–European musical encounters, and the mutual incomprehension they often evoked, up to the mid-seventeenth century.

## 4.2. Pre-Nineteenth-Century Notation Methods

Dimitrie Cantemir (1673–1723), as Owen Wright has succinctly put it, ‘has many reputations’.<sup>31</sup> At least in the first part of his life, he was an Orthodox Christian subject of the Ottoman Empire, well versed in the Turkish language and the cultural habits of Ottoman elites. As a member of the Phanariot class, he belonged to a transregional network of Hellenised notables who mediated between the Ottoman capital and the local power centres of south-eastern Europe. At the same time, Cantemir was an Enlightenment polymath who, somewhat like Ali Ufuki half a century earlier or Mouradgea d’Ohsson a few decades later, acted as an interpreter of the Ottoman–Islamic east for the European reading public. Cantemir became a member of the Berlin Academy in 1714, and was a prominent intellectual and adviser at the court of Peter the Great after his defection to Russia. His history of the Ottoman Empire, published in English translation in 1734–5 and subsequently in French and German, played an important role in shaping perceptions of the Islamic world in eighteenth-century Europe.<sup>32</sup>

From this perspective, Cantemir’s introduction of notation to Ottoman music might well be portrayed as an attempt to ‘modernise’ the tradition according to Enlightenment ideals of systematisation and rationalisation. As we have seen, this was indeed the impression gained by contemporary European observers, and some of Cantemir’s own statements appear to support such an interpretation. He boasted, for example, of having invented ‘a new method ... of expressing the Songs by Notes, unknown before to the *Turks*.’<sup>33</sup> Elsewhere, in a similar vein, he writes that he established

theoretical indications of the whole of music with regards to certain rules and fixed canons, and I translated the notes into Arabic characters for easier usage and practice, showing (as I hope) the theory [of music] more clearly, so that now the Turks themselves say that both practical and theoretical music have become a great deal easier and clearer.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Wright 2000, 1. There is a large literature on Cantemir’s life and works; for a general introduction, see Bochmann 2008a; Lemny 2009 and Căndeia 1985a. His activities as an orientalist, which are of particular interest in the present context, are discussed in Bîrsan 2004; Cerdovodeanu 1991, 1974; Cioranescu 1975; Căndeia 1972 and Guboglu 1960.

<sup>32</sup> Cantemir 1734–5. Excerpts from the English translation have been published as Cantemir 1973. More recently, the original Latin manuscript has been discovered by Virgil Căndeia, and published both as a facsimile (Cantemir 1999) and an edition (Cantemir 2002). See Căndeia 1999; idem 1985b; Maner 2008 and Trevor-Roper 2010 for discussions of the provenance, initial reception and later reputation of the *History*.

<sup>33</sup> Cantemir 1734–5, I, 151n14. Cf. Cantemir 2002, 367: ‘novo a nobis excogitato per notas exprimendorum canticorum modo, Turcis antea ignoto’.

<sup>34</sup> The statement is made in Cantemir’s work on Islamic religion and customs, first published (in Russian) in St Petersburg in 1722 (see Guboglu 1960, 152–7 and Cernovodeanu 1991). For the Romanian translation, see Cantemir 1977, 464–5. Cf. Popescu-Judetiz 1981, 103. Cantemir also describes here an instrument for measuring

In his musical treatise, written in Ottoman Turkish around 1705 and entitled *Kitābu ‘ilmi’l-mūsīkī ‘alā vechi’l-ḥurūfāt* or ‘Book of the Science of Music by Means of Notation’, Cantemir complains that previous theorists ‘did not compose a single thing about the rules of [musical] science and the stipulations of [its] laws’.<sup>35</sup> Thus, his own treatise (henceforth referred to by its conventional title, *Edvar* [lit. ‘cycles’]) would provide a sound theoretical basis for musical practice, thanks in part to the precision afforded by his newly invented, letter-based writing system. Moreover, notation would enable musicians to perform a composition ‘according to the stipulations of the composer’.<sup>36</sup>

Yet there are a number of reasons why Cantemir’s effort to introduce notation into Ottoman music should not be regarded simply as an instance of ‘westernisation’. In the first place, Cantemir’s cultural identity was far from straightforward: as a member of the Hellenised elite who ruled an Ottoman vassal state on the margins of continental Europe, his intellectual formation owed as much to the Ottoman world and the Greek Orthodox Church as it did to western Christendom. As with other prominent non-Muslim actors in the Ottoman realm who had ties with Europe, the attribution to Cantemir of an unambiguously ‘western’ – or, indeed, ‘Turkish’ – identity is thus a reflection of the essentialising historiographic models that continue to hold sway in relation to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, Cantemir’s statements in publications intended for a European or Russian readership should be understood as part of his self-positioning as an intellectual and public figure, and in light of his relentless political manoeuvring, which ultimately led to his severance of connections with the Sublime Porte and exile in Russia.

In fact, Cantemir’s notation method owed little, if anything, to western European models (see Figure 4). Cantemir was evidently familiar with staff notation<sup>38</sup>, but regarded European music as inferior due to its lack of rhythmic variety. As he wrote in his treatise, under the rubric ‘The Greeks and the Franks are imperfect in the science of notation’,

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interval sizes (i.e. a type of monochord) that he invented while at the court of Peter the Great. I am indebted to Florin Filimon for translation of the Romanian text.

<sup>35</sup> *Kitābu ‘ilmi’l-mūsīkī ‘alā vechi’l-ḥurūfāt*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Kütüphanesi, Ms. 100, p. 17. A complete edition of Cantemir’s treatise, including both the theoretical section and the collection of notations as well as a facsimile of the manuscript, has been published by Yalçın Tura (2001). The collection of notations has also been edited and published separately by Owen Wright (1992a). For bibliographical information about further partial editions and translations, as well as detailed discussion of Cantemir’s treatise and his role in the history of Ottoman music, see Wright 2000; Feldman 1996; Popescu-Judet 2010, 27–96; idem 1999; idem 1981, 99–170; Popescu-Judet 1968 and Yönetken [1962].

<sup>36</sup> *Kitābu ‘ilmü’l-mūsīkī*, pp. 7–8.

<sup>37</sup> See e.g. Feldman 2015, 129–30.

<sup>38</sup> An example of Cantemir’s handwriting in staff notation is reproduced in Tura 2001, I, xlviii (after Cosma 1973, 20; cf. Cioranescu 1975, 213).

The Greeks wrote down music in notation, but due to the fact that they did not know rhythm and metre, music amongst them is [sic] blind and lame. The Franks and the Russians took the practice of singing music with notation from the Greeks, but because they do not know rhythms other than *sofyān* and *semā ʿī* [i.e. duple and triple metres], they cannot sing instrumental and vocal pieces composed in other rhythms correctly. And for this reason, music is imperfect amongst them too.<sup>39</sup>

While Cantemir is also dismissive of ‘Greek’ music (apparently conflating ancient and contemporary periods), his Greek Orthodox education and awareness of the use of notation in Byzantine chant might be taken into account as possible influencing factors alongside his knowledge of staff notation. Indeed, Cantemir’s son Antioch (1708–44), who was Russian ambassador to London and Paris in the 1730s, wrote to Voltaire that ‘The notational symbols my father has invented for Turkish music resemble rather the Greek signs than those employed in France.’<sup>40</sup> In functional and even visual terms, however, Cantemir’s notation method resembles neither staff notation nor Byzantine neumes, but rather the alphanumeric notations found in the late medieval treatises of the Systematist school (Figure 5). It is therefore not insignificant that an almost identical notation system was used by Cantemir’s older contemporary, the aforementioned Nayi Osman Dede, to notate part of the Ottoman repertoire during approximately the same period (Figure 6).<sup>41</sup>

While there has been much equivocation in previous scholarship regarding the chronology of the two systems, the bulk of the historical evidence in fact points towards the primacy of Osman Dede’s notation method.<sup>42</sup> Osman Dede was some twenty years older than Cantemir and a well-known Mevlevi musician and composer; indeed, Cantemir mentions him (‘Dervish Othman’) as a celebrated instrumentalist, and includes two of his compositions in his collection.<sup>43</sup> In the somewhat unlikely event that Osman Dede attempted to emulate the younger musician, this presumably must have happened after 1705 (the approximate date of the *Edvar*’s

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<sup>39</sup> *Kitābu ‘ilmi’l-mūsīkī*, p. 6.

<sup>40</sup> Cited in Popescu-Judetiz 1999, 33 (after Cosma 1965, 42). Cf. Ehrhard 1938, 17. For Antioch Cantemir’s biography, see Lemny 2009, 175 ff.

<sup>41</sup> Osman Dede’s notation collection is in private hands. A brief description of the contents is found in Popescu-Judetiz 1996, 31–4. See also Öztuna 1990, II, 138–9, 169–70. More recently, Nilgün Doğrusöz has published a detailed description of the manuscript and of Osman Dede’s notation system, as well as a few sample pages and transcriptions into staff notation of two pieces from the collection (Doğrusöz 2006, 2013). I am grateful to Dr. Doğrusöz for discussing her research with me and for providing a copy of her most recent article.

<sup>42</sup> My argument here builds on Uslu and Doğrusöz Dişiaçık 2009, 5–6. For previous discussions of chronology, which have tended either to favour Cantemir or to remain inconclusive, see Popescu-Judetiz 1996, 30–35; Popescu-Judetiz 1968, 208; Feldman 1996, 32–3, 36; Wright 2000, 11–12 and Ekinci 2012, 215.

<sup>43</sup> Cantemir 1734–5, I, 151n14; Wright 1992a, nos. 23 and 233.

composition).<sup>44</sup> However, whereas later imitators of Cantemir copied the entire contents of his music collection and also added newer or contemporary compositions, Osman Dede's collection contains a much more limited corpus of works by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century composers, and, significantly, none by Cantemir himself.<sup>45</sup>



**Figure 4: Detail from a copy of Cantemir's notation collection (ca. 1710) (National Library of Tehran, Ms. 5-12804, f. 4r)**

<sup>44</sup> Uslu and Doğrusöz Dişiaçık (2009, 5) write that the *Edvar* was written in 1691, presumably on the basis of the remark in the *History* that the work was dedicated to 'the present Emperor *Ahmed II*' (r. 1691–5) (Cantemir 1734–5, I, 151n14). However, Owen Wright has shown that this is certainly a mistake for *Ahmed III* (r. 1703–1730) (Wright 2000, 4–6). The original manuscript gives only 'hodierno Imperatori *Ahmed*' (Cantemir 2002, 367), suggesting that the error was Tindal's.

<sup>45</sup> See Popescu-Judetiz 1996, 32. On later copies of the Cantemir collection, see *infra*.

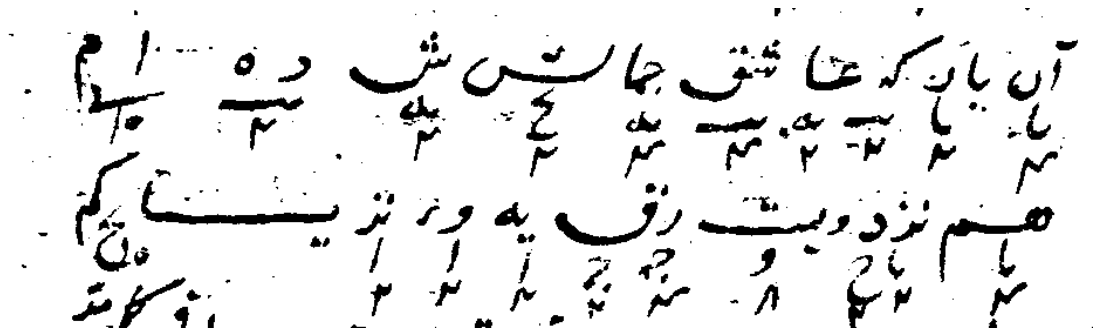


Figure 5: Part of a notated example from 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī's Jāmi' al-alḥān (818/1415) (Nuruosmaniye Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, Ms. 3644, f. 59r)

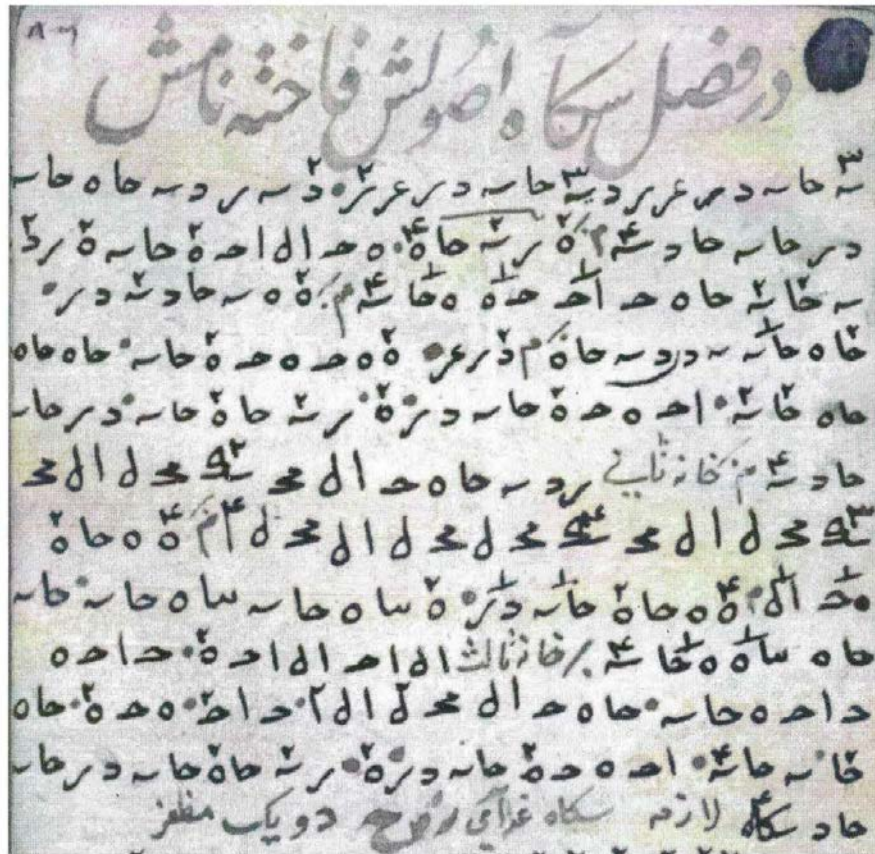


Figure 6: Detail from Nayi Osman Dede's collection of notation (ca. 1690) (private collection, reproduced in Doğrusöz 2013, p. 11)



Moreover, while the later copyists of the Cantemir collection adopted his notation system without changes, Osman Dede's method uses three- or four-letter combinations for some pitches where Cantemir has only one or two letters, and has a more limited range of digits (placed above rather than below the pitch symbols) to express duration.<sup>46</sup> It is doubtful that Osman Dede would have adapted Cantemir's system by adding superfluous characters and introducing a more rudimentary means of indicating duration. A more plausible explanation is that Cantemir improved Osman Dede's notation method by eliminating unnecessarily complex letter combinations and making it more suitable for expressing details of rhythmic articulation (something that was especially important for his own compositions).<sup>47</sup>

In addition, the fact that Osman Dede refers to himself as 'Dervîş 'Osmân' in the autograph manuscript of his notation collection would suggest that it was compiled before he became the *şeyh* of Galata Mevlevihane in 1697.<sup>48</sup> That this is not simply a sign of modesty is confirmed by his Persian verse treatise *Rabṭ-ı ta' bīrāt-i mūsīkī* ('Binding of musical terms'), which, like Cantemir's *Edvar*, was dedicated to Ahmed III (r. 1703–1730) and thus written after he had assumed this position, and where he refers to himself as 'Şeyḥ 'Osmân Nāyī'.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, the Mevlevi scholar Sakıb Dede (d. 1735), who provides a detailed description of Osman Dede's use of musical notation in his biographical dictionary, was an associate of Osman Dede at Galata Mevlevihane until 1690, when he settled permanently in Kütahya.<sup>50</sup> That his recollection of Osman Dede's use of notation stems from before 1697 (or possibly before 1690) is further implied by the fact that it occurs early on in his biographical narrative, and before he describes Osman Dede's elevation to the position of *şeyh* of Galata Mevlevihane.<sup>51</sup>

Lastly, the similarity of both Osman Dede's and Cantemir's notation methods to those of the Systematist theorists is surely not coincidental. However, Cantemir does not appear to have been aware of these earlier texts, which would have been difficult to access for both practical and linguistic reasons.<sup>52</sup> By contrast, Osman Dede was deeply learned in Arabic and Persian,

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<sup>46</sup> Doğrusöz 2006, 52–5; idem 2013. See Wright 1992a, xiv–xxvi for a concise explanation of the notational conventions used in the *Edvar*.

<sup>47</sup> See Feldman 1996, 371–91 for a detailed analysis of Cantemir's compositional style.

<sup>48</sup> Uslu and Doğrusöz Dişiaçık 2009, 6. A facsimile of the title page of the notation collection is found in Doğrusöz 2006, 58 (cf. Popescu-Judet 1996, 31). For Osman Dede's biography, see Çakır 1999; Erguner 2007; Öztuna 1990, II, 169–71.

<sup>49</sup> Ed. Akdoğan 1992, 8, 42. Although Osman Dede did occasionally use the pen name 'Dervîş Osman' in other contexts (Çakır 1999, 309), quite possibly after he had become a *şeyh*, it is noteworthy that all three subsequent owners of his notation collection used the latter title in their own inscriptions (see Doğrusöz 2006, 58).

<sup>50</sup> Arı 2003, 23–4.

<sup>51</sup> Şakıb Dede 1283/1866, II, 229–30.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Wright 2000, 11 (*pace* Popescu-Judet 1968, 206). The oft-repeated claim that Cantemir had a perfect command of Arabic and Persian as well as Turkish (e.g. Guboglu 1960, 130; Căndea 1972, 346; Maner 2008, 95;

and would have had access to such manuscripts through the libraries of the Mevlevi order and its supporters. Clear evidence of this is again provided by *Rabṭ-ı ta bīrāt*, where Osman Dede refers directly to a treatise by al-Marāghī.<sup>53</sup>

Thus, if we set aside the *a priori* argument that notation is ‘an essentially Western concept’ that could only have been introduced into Ottoman music by a (quasi-)European, we can posit a somewhat different genealogy for Cantemir’s notation system. That is, it is a more refined version of Osman Dede’s notation method, which was based in turn on a Systematist model. Cantemir’s claim that his notation method was original and ‘unknown before to the *Turks*’ therefore seems to indicate casual plagiarism or misrepresentation. Yet such practices were hardly unusual according to the scholarly mores of the time, and the statement would have accorded well with the expectations of his European readers.<sup>54</sup> Notably, he does not make such explicit claims of originality in his Turkish treatise, where the notation is simply presented as a *fait accompli*.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, an act of deceit in such a trifling matter would certainly not have been beyond someone whose political life was characterised by Machiavellian scheming on a grand scale.

Nonetheless, the argument that Cantemir attempted in some sense to ‘modernise’ the Ottoman musical tradition may be supported by his treatise, in which he presents an innovative and comprehensive theoretical system based on his observation of contemporary practices. By contrast, Osman Dede’s treatise draws on the authority of earlier theoretical texts and thus looks back towards an older Persianate tradition. In this aspect, Cantemir appears to share with

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Bochmann 2008b, 153–4) is certainly an exaggeration. While it is true that words in correct Arabic orthography were excised from Tindal’s English translation of the *Incrementorum*, and their transliterations often distorted, there is nonetheless other evidence – particularly his spurious etymologies – to show that Cantemir’s knowledge of Arabic and Persian was defective: see Hammer 1824, 39–45 for an early demonstration. His relationship with his Turkish language teacher, Esad Efendi of Ioannina (d. 1731), who produced, amongst other works, an Arabic translation of a Latin commentary on Aristotle’s *Physics*, is discussed in Matei 1972 (see also Küçük 2013).

<sup>53</sup> Akdoğan 1992, 17–18, 24. Cf. Öztuna 1990, II, 138; Yekta 1922, 2980. On al-Marāghī’s use of notation, see Bardakçı 1986a, 129–34. As Eckhard Neubauer has pointed out, the direct transmission of al-Marāghī’s works to Istanbul was facilitated both by the transference of autographs and copies of his manuscripts to the Ottoman capital, and the presence of his son and grandson (as musicians and theorists) at the imperial court (Neubauer 1997, 341; cf. idem 2010–11, 262–3). It is also worth citing in this context the observation of Saint-Priest that ‘les Turcs ont quelques Traités de Musique Orientale, qu’ils tiennent des Persans, dans lesquels se trouvent les regles de la composition & la maniere de l’écrire’; although he goes on to write that ‘les dédain qu’ils ont généralement pour la culture des Sciences, a laissé ces ouvrages dans un parfait oubli’ (cited in Guys 1776, 32), the comment nonetheless indicates that such works were known to exist in eighteenth-century Istanbul.

<sup>54</sup> For a discussion of Cantemir’s unacknowledged reliance on a work by Paul Rycart (1629–1700) in his *History*, see Bîrsan 2004, 43–4, 55–63. It has also been suggested that some of the Turkish sources that he claimed to have consulted when writing the *History* were fabricated, or at least misrepresented: see Hammer 1824, 36 and Babinger 1950–55. See Guboglu 1960, 129–52 for a detailed discussion of the accuracy of Cantemir’s *History* in the light of Ottoman sources (including a partial refutation of the criticisms of Hammer and Babinger at ibid, 149–52).

<sup>55</sup> Neubauer 2018, 17–18.



Bžškean a general intention to systematise or rationalise contemporary musical practices, based partly on the use of notation, which might similarly be a reflection of his adoption of Enlightenment modes of thought. However, despite this broad resemblance, Cantemir's *Edvar* differs in several respects from *Eražštut'wn*, most importantly with regards to the circumstances surrounding its composition, which affected in turn the reception of the notation methods described in each treatise.

Cantemir's treatise was written at the request of two of his students, Davul İsmail Efendi and Latif Çelebi, both high ranking officials at the Ottoman court, and, as noted above, dedicated to Ahmed III.<sup>56</sup> The text, written in Ottoman Turkish, was therefore intended to be read by a small, highly educated group of courtiers and connoisseurs. As an aristocratic amateur himself, Cantemir was concerned with the tradition of elite, private music-making, and did not attempt to reach a wider public (that is, except in his guise as an orientalist, addressing a European audience). Moreover, his notation system was mainly an adjunct to the theoretical part of his treatise, which had far more influence on the later Ottoman music tradition than the supplemental collection of notations.<sup>57</sup> Partly for these reasons, Cantemir's notation method was used by only a handful of individuals during the eighteenth century, and was never adopted on a scale comparable to the use of Hampartsum notation during the following century.

*Eražštut'wn* was composed in quite different circumstances and with quite different intentions. Firstly, by writing in Armenian rather than Ottoman Turkish, Bžškean addressed his treatise to a broadly conceived ethno-religious group, rather than a small circle of courtly elites. Although the treatise was composed with the support of wealthy patrons with connections to the imperial court, its intended readership was certainly not limited to such circles. This is indicated above all by the fact that it was meant for printed publication rather than circulation in manuscript, and by its simple, vernacular prose style. As I argued in Chapter Two, Hampartsum notation was conceived as part of a wider intellectual and cultural movement that aimed to galvanise the Armenian people into a unified 'nation' by extending the benefits of literacy and education beyond the elite social stratum to which they had previously been restricted. Although, in the event, *Eražštut'wn* itself remained unpublished, the notation system developed by Bžškean and his colleagues was disseminated amongst a relatively large number of musicians partly thanks to the impetus provided by this ideological background. By contrast, while Cantemir may have shared with the Armenian reformers an intellectual orientation shaped

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<sup>56</sup> Cantemir 1734–5, I, 151n14.

<sup>57</sup> On later copies and adaptations of Cantemir's theoretical treatise, see Popescu-Judetiz 2007, 47–51.

by the Enlightenment, his motivations for developing a notation system, and its subsequent adoption by a limited number of Ottoman musicians, were not connected to a larger programme of institutional reform, popular education or national awakening.

In general, this statement holds true for other Ottoman notation methods that emerged during the eighteenth century (with the possible exception of those developed within the Greek Orthodox community), and constitutes the major difference, in historical terms, between these systems and Hampartsum notation. Indeed, if there is little indication that Cantemir's notation method was intended as anything more than a practical tool to be used in his own teaching and theoretical work, other Ottoman writing systems display even less evidence of having been conceived as part of a larger ideological project of modernisation or westernisation. Nayi Osman Dede, for example, does not appear to have framed his notation collection with a programmatic statement of intent, and his other works indicate that he was otherwise a traditional Mevlevi savant.

Similarly, later copies of Cantemir's notation collection display no evidence of being connected to a modernising or westernising trend in Ottoman music circles. On the contrary, the original compiler of the *Kevseri Mecmuası* (ca. 1720–40) appears to have been a distinctly conservative scholar and musician, who recorded musico-cosmological speculations alongside excerpts from Cantemir's text, and notated works in an austere performance style that would soon become obsolete.<sup>58</sup> Another recently discovered copy of the Cantemir collection (probably compiled before 1710) is a presentational text copied by an anonymous Persian scribe, presumably for an elite patron (Figure 4). Again, nothing in the manuscript, which contains no original theoretical or explanatory text, suggests a grand purpose of modernisation or any hint of European influence.<sup>59</sup>

In short, the use of notation during this period did not constitute an attempt to modernise the performance and transmission of Ottoman music according to a western model, but was simply a means of recording the repertoire for personal use, or occasionally for presentational purposes. Furthermore, as the case of Osman Dede shows, the initial basis for this was in all likelihood the existing tradition of alphanumeric notation that formed part of the intellectual

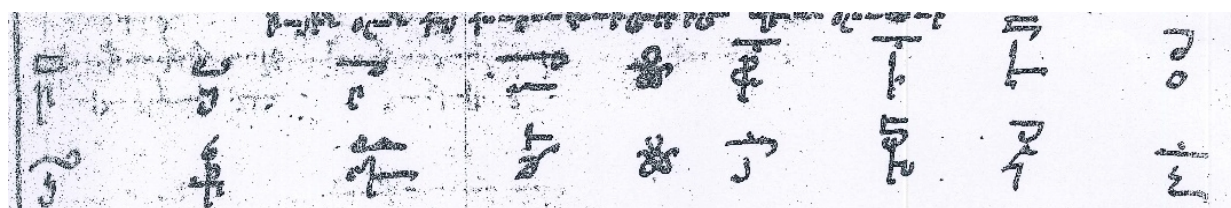
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<sup>58</sup> The manuscript is in private hands, but a microfilm exists at the Turkish National Library in Ankara, erroneously attributed to 'Kevserî Mustafa Ali Dede', under the title *Kitab-ı musikar*, Mf1994 A 4941. In fact, the author is Kevserî Muştafâ (Ali Dede was a later owner), while the work itself is untitled (the title *Kitab-ı musikar* is derived from the section heading on f. [6v]). A complete edition has recently been published by Mehmet Uğur Ekinci (2016). For discussion of the authorship, provenance and contents of the manuscript, see Ekinci 2012; Popescu-Judetiz 1998.

<sup>59</sup> National Library of Iran, Tehran, Ms. 5-12804. See Ekinci 2015a for further information.

heritage of educated Mevlevi musicians, rather than the presumed influence of European notational practices.

A contrasting example is provided by the notation system of Tanburi Küçük Arut'in, which Feldman brackets together with those of Osman Dede and Cantemir as another illustration of 'western influence'.<sup>60</sup> Tanburi Arut'in was an Armenian musician at the court of Mahmud I (r. 1730–54) who, having accompanied an Ottoman embassy to Persia in 1736, spent several years in the service of Nader Shah (r. 1736–47) before his return to Istanbul. His treatise, written in Armeno-Turkish (probably after his return to Istanbul in around 1742), includes detailed descriptions of Ottoman modes and rhythmic cycles (as well as comparisons with Persian and Indian practices), and presents a notation method apparently devised by Arut'in himself.<sup>61</sup> Contrary to the assertions of previous scholars, its symbols bear no morphological relationship either to the Armenian alphabet, or, with the exception of one or two neumes, to the medieval *xaz* (Figure 7).<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, although Arut'in deploys a similar principle of one-to-one correspondence between pitch and sign, there is no reason to suppose that he had access to Osman Dede's or Cantemir's notation collections. If so, it would be rather surprising that he did not simply adopt one of these systems.



**Figure 7: Pitch symbols (rows 1 and 3) and Armenian letters (rows 2 and 4) from Tanburi Arut'in's musical treatise (ca. 1745) (Matenadaran Institute, Ms. 9340; microfilm reproduced from Tabar Müzik Kütüphanesi, D.36, f. 11v)**

<sup>60</sup> Feldman 1996, 31.

<sup>61</sup> An edition of the treatise has been published with an introduction and commentary by Eugenia Popescu-Judet (2002). The original manuscript is held at the Matenadaran Institute in Yerevan (Ms. 9340), while a microfilm print is found in Popescu-Judet's archive, now housed at Tabar Müzik Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, catalogue no. D.36. I am indebted to Işık and Ferruh Genç for kindly allowing me to consult the latter copy. Since the author uses a Turkicised spelling of his name in the treatise, referring to himself on f. [14v] as 'Giwč'iwg Arut'in T'ampuri' (also 'Art'in') (i.e. Küçük Arutin/Artin Tanburi), I have adopted the spelling 'Arut'in' rather than the orthographically correct 'Yarut'iwn'.

<sup>62</sup> See e.g. Feldman 1996, 34; Popescu-Judet 1996, 40–41; idem 2002, 156–7; Tohumcu 2006, 167–8. The association with the Armenian alphabet seems to derive in part from Arut'in's use of the word *harf* ('letter') to designate pitch symbols, as well as confusion regarding the letters introduced by Arut'in to help students to vocalise the musical pitches (see Popescu Judetz 2002, 62–6).

A more probable point of departure is the neumes of Middle Byzantine notation, to which Arut'in's symbols show a closer resemblance than they do to the *xaz*. Judging by the situation in the late eighteenth century, it presumably was not uncommon for Armenian musicians to be trained in Greek Orthodox chant and notation during the preceding decades. A familiarity with Byzantine notation also helps to explain Arut'in's use of additional signs specifying articulation or ornamentation, which are not found in Arabo-Persian or Ottoman letter-based notations. In this sense, Arut'in's notation method belongs to a parallel stream of music writing that was inspired by the neumatic symbols of Greek and Armenian church music, rather than the tradition of alphanumeric notations based on the Arabic script. A late eighteenth-century manuscript outlining a comparable system of Armenian neumes combined with Ottoman pitch names has also been described by T'ahmizyan<sup>63</sup>, while other systems developed by Grigor Gapasaxalean<sup>64</sup> and, reportedly, by Petros Peloponnēsios and Antoine de Murat<sup>65</sup>, were similarly neume-based notations.

These systems differ as to the degree to which they retain the intervallic character of neumatic notation, or adapt the graphic symbols to a principle of discrete pitch signification based on the *perdes* of the Ottoman *tanbur*. In the case of Petros Peloponnēsios, Adelburg reports that his system incorporated both 'the Arabic signs provided by Cantemir' and existing Greek neumes.<sup>66</sup> However, this seems doubtful since Arabic letters or numbers do not appear to be used in the available collections of Ottoman music in Middle Byzantine notation, some of which are attributed to Peloponnēsios.<sup>67</sup> In general, functional similarities between neume-based notation systems such as Tanburi Arut'in's and those based on the Arabic script, such as Osman Dede's or Cantemir's, seem to be the result not of direct textual influence, but of their common basis in the oral tradition of Ottoman music and the centrality of the *tanbur* as a teaching instrument.<sup>68</sup> As I will argue below, this explanation is also valid for Hampartsum notation.

Arut'in's notation method was not adopted by any other musician during the later eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. On the other hand, it did not disappear into total obscurity: Adelburg, presumably relying on Antoine de Murat's unpublished treatise, mentions 'Tamburi-

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<sup>63</sup> T'ahmizyan 1973, 311.

<sup>64</sup> Utidjian and Troelsgård (forthcoming).

<sup>65</sup> Adelburg 1867, 74–5; Björnsthål 1781, 13.

<sup>66</sup> Adelburg 1867, 107.

<sup>67</sup> Kalaitzidis 2012. On the other hand, it is worth noting that collections of Middle Byzantine notation were sometimes titled or annotated in Arabic script: see the examples in Wellesz 1927, 89, 93.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Popescu-Judet 2002, 158–9.

Kiütschük-Artin' as the inventor of a notation system as well as a respected performer and theoretician.<sup>69</sup> But while it is not inconceivable that the Armenian reformers of the early nineteenth century were also aware of the existence of Arut'in's notation method, the fact that he is not mentioned anywhere in *Eražšut'wn* suggests that this was not the case. In any event, even if the reformers did consult Arut'in's treatise, his method clearly did not provide a model for Hampartsum notation, since they share little beyond a general principle of discrete pitch representation which, as already noted, is common to several Ottoman notation systems.

More importantly, Arut'in's treatise did not offer a precedent in the sense of being part of a wider movement towards social reform or cultural revival. Although little is known about Arut'in's background beyond his evident musical and, to a lesser extent, scholarly aptitude, his works (which also include a first-hand account of the Ottoman embassy to Persia in 1736) do not indicate a connection with the recently founded Mxit'arist order or with centres of the Armenian diaspora in Europe.<sup>70</sup> His notation method is introduced as a means of teaching students the principles of the Ottoman pitch system, but appears in only one short section of his treatise and is not used to notate any compositions. It is thus an incidental aspect of his theoretical exposition, rather than a serious attempt to introduce notation as the basis of musical transmission and performance. Again, this represents a crucial difference with the emergence of Hampartsum notation in the early nineteenth century, and a clear distinction must be made between the historical contexts and intentions behind each system.

In chronological terms, the Ottoman notation system closest to Hampartsum notation (apart from the New Method) was developed by another Mevlevi musician, Abdülbaki Nasır Dede (1765–1820). Composed in 1794 at the request of Selim III, *Tahrirīyetü'l-mūsīkī* ('The writing of music') is a concise treatise on notation that includes a Mevlevi *ayin* composed by the sultan, as well as a *peşrev* by Vardakosta Ahmed Ağa (d. 1794) (Figure 8).<sup>71</sup> Not coincidentally, Abdülbaki Dede was the grandson of Osman Dede and owned the autograph

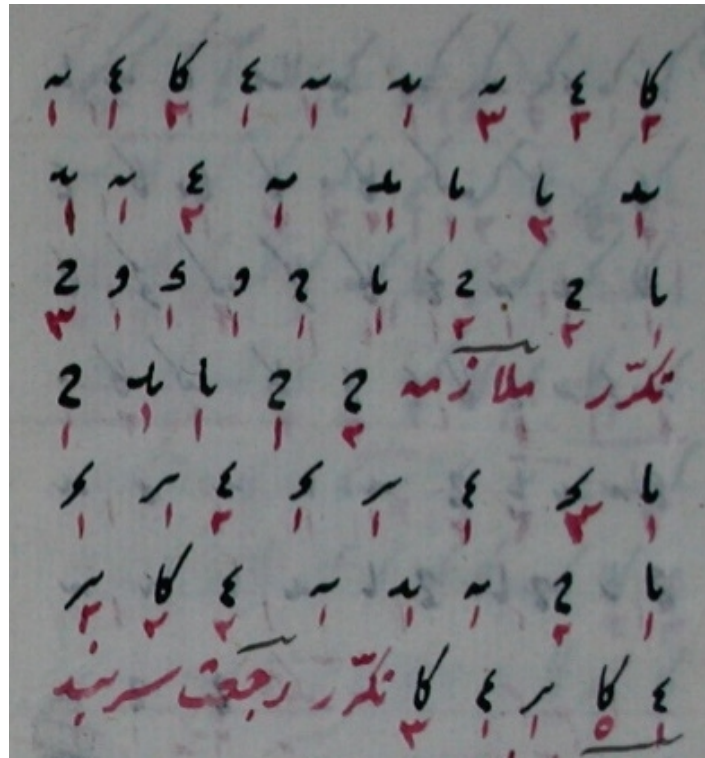
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<sup>69</sup> Adelburg 1867, 74, 155, 157.

<sup>70</sup> Arut'in's account of his journey to Iran and India was later published in Venice as T'ampuri Arut'in 1800; a transcription into the Latin alphabet of the latter edition was prepared by Esat Uras (Tanburî Arutin 1942). Despite the title, *T'ahmas Gulu Xanən T'ēvarik'i* is a travelogue recounting Arut'in's experience of Nader Shah's court and the latter's Indian campaign, rather than a history of his reign (*pace* Feldman 1996, 33), although it does include some anecdotal information about his seizure of power from Tahmasb II (Tanburî Arutin 1942, 38–47). It is certainly not, as Tohumcu claims, a musical treatise (Tohumcu 2006, 167). Both of Arut'in's extant works are conversational in tone, and appear more as records of oral lore and first-hand observation than products of literary scholarship.

<sup>71</sup> 'Abdü'l-Bāķī Nāsır Dede, *Tahrirīyetü'l-mūsīkī*. Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, İstanbul, Ms. Esad Efendi 3898. For a modern edition with facsimile, see Uslu and Doğrusöz Dişiaçık 2009.

manuscript of the latter's notation collection.<sup>72</sup> His notation system thus has a clear pedigree in the tradition of Arabo-Persian and Ottoman music writing. Indeed, Abdülbaki's notation is closer to the method of the Systematists than those of Osman Dede or Cantemir, since letters denoting pitch are assigned on the basis of the *ebced* system rather than according to the names of the *perdes*. Moreover, although Abdülbaki Dede claims that 'a work wholly or partially about the rules of writing music' did not exist in his own times<sup>73</sup>, he is evidently familiar with earlier notation systems, which he describes mainly in order to point out their practical shortcomings. He also claims that his own system is based on the method of the ancients (*üslûb-ı kudemā*) and is therefore convenient to write and decipher.<sup>74</sup>



**Figure 8: Detail from Abdülbaki Dede's *Tahrīriyetü'l-mūsikī* (1208/1794) (*Süleymaniye Yazma Eserleri Kütüphanesi*, Ms. Esad Efendi 3898, f. 13v)**

As noted in Chapter Two, the idea that the invention of Hampartsum notation was initiated by Selim III seems to be based partly on confusion with Abdülbaki's notation system. This is also reflected in claims that both notation systems were the result of the same broad

<sup>72</sup> Doğrusöz 2006, 58; Popescu-Judet 1996, 31.

<sup>73</sup> Uslu and Doğrusöz Dişiaçık 2009, 69.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, 99–100.

impetus towards reform.<sup>75</sup> Yet there is no indication that Abdülbaki's notation system was intended as part of a reform of music teaching, despite the common assumption that it reflects the modernising character of Selim III's sultanate. Like earlier treatises on notation, *Tahrîrîye* was not written for a wide readership and was not disseminated beyond courtly circles, while the notation system itself was not used by any other musician or theorist. More importantly, Abdülbaki Dede displays a cautious attitude towards the role of writing in musical transmission, which contrasts starkly with the Armenian reformers' championing of notation as a means of making the process more efficient, accessible and reliable. Thus, he writes that

there is no need to state the necessity of education in notation; but it is for those who have undergone the labour of learning from a master and, as well as [knowing] a little [about] composition, are quite cultivated and skilled on their instrument. Otherwise, for someone who is below this level the effort is useless and may even be an obstacle to their education. Because receiving learning and education from a master comes before this.<sup>76</sup>

For Abdülbaki, then, notation cannot be anything more than a supplement to the learning process, helpful only for those students who have mastered the fundamentals of music through oral transmission from a master. Bžškean's treatise, on the contrary, is itself an attempt to teach novices the principles of music by means of notation, an instruction manual aimed at a large and anonymous community of readers. In this sense, despite its temporal proximity to Abdülbaki's notation system, Hampartsum notation differs with regards to its intended role in the process of musical transmission, and must therefore be judged differently in terms of its historical significance.

#### 4.3. Texts, Diffusion and the Question of Direct Influence

A number of scholars have claimed that Limōnčean knew Abdülbaki Dede personally, or even that he studied with him, though none provide evidence to support such an assertion.<sup>77</sup> Like the stories regarding Limōnčean's relationship with Selim III or İsmail Dede Efendi, this narrative is based on the assumption that the creation of Hampartsum notation was necessarily initiated or sanctioned by a member of the dominant ethno-religious group.<sup>78</sup> At the same time, it reflects

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<sup>75</sup> E.g. Erol 2011, 168; Ergur and Doğrusöz 2015, 153–6. For a critique of the narrative of Selim III as a moderniser, which the author argues emerged in the late nineteenth century, see Başaran 2014, 75–7.

<sup>76</sup> Uslu and Doğrusöz Dişiaçık 2009, 100.

<sup>77</sup> Uslu and Doğrusöz Dişiaçık 2009, 16n17; Popescu-Judetzi 1996, 42; Reinhard 1967, 579; Sözer 1964, 247.

<sup>78</sup> For another recent example of this type of argument, see Başer 2014.

the idea that different Ottoman notation systems form part of a linear, cumulative process, rather than being individual expressions, sometimes but not always in direct connection with each other, of specific social and historical conditions. To be sure, Hampartsum notation bears a structural similarity to the alphanumeric notations of Osman Dede, Cantemir and Abdülbaki Dede, and on this basis it might be argued that it was influenced by one of the latter systems. However, a closer examination of the historical evidence indicates that earlier Ottoman notation systems did not have a direct impact on the Armenian reformers.

The most detailed argument for direct influence has been put forward by Ralf Martin Jäger, who suggests that Limōnčean may have been introduced to Cantemir's notation method by the Mevlevi musician Nayi Ali Dede (d. 1829), who owned the autograph copy of the *Edvar*.<sup>79</sup> Jäger's hypothesis rests on the claim that Ali Dede also possessed two of Limōnčean's autograph manuscript collections, which, he conjectures, Limōnčean may have given to him in recognition of their close teacher–pupil relationship. Yet neither of the two collections that Jäger refers to bears the seal of Ali Dede, which appears on several other important music manuscripts (including Cantemir's *Edvar* and the *Kevseri Mecmuası*).<sup>80</sup> Moreover, NE211 is certainly not an autograph of Limōnčean, since it is written in Arabic script and in a different hand from NE203.<sup>81</sup> The latter, which has a far more plausible claim to being a Limōnčean autograph, contains a note about its provenance (written by Suphi Ezgi) which makes no mention of Ali Dede.<sup>82</sup> Neither is he mentioned by Angeleay, who gives detailed information about the posthumous dispersal of Limōnčean's manuscripts.<sup>83</sup> In short, there appears to be

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<sup>79</sup> Jäger 1996a, 266–7; see also idem 2006a, 110–11; idem 1997, 386. On the correct date of Nayi Ali Dede's death (10 Rābi'ū'l-evvel 1245 = 9 September 1829), which Jäger gives as ca. 1820 (after Öztuna 1990, I, 46), see Kaya and Küçük 2011, 408–409.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Ekinci 2012, 209n51. Jäger does not give signatures for the two manuscripts, but presumably is referring to NE203 and NE211, which he mentions as autographs of Limōnčean in an earlier footnote (Jäger 1996a, 31n14; cf. idem 1996b, xxii, xlv). NE211 contains the seal of Mehmed Rāşid (Nayi Raşid Efendi, d. after 1896) on p. 83 and also on the final (unnumbered) page. The information that the manuscript belonged to Nayi Ali Dede seems to be derived from a faulty reading of Ezgi 1933–53, V, 530, where a total of six manuscripts believed to have been Limōnčean autographs are mentioned, three of which are reported to contain the seal of Nayi Ali Dede. However, the description that most closely resembles NE211 ('iki adet de İstanbul Konservatuari kütüphanesinde vardır; biri ufak, yandan açılır, Nâyi Baha Raşid notaları arasındadır') has no connection to the three manuscripts from Ali Dede's collection: two of the latter, according to Ezgi, were destroyed in a fire, while the other was acquired by Rauf Yekta, and is presumably still in private hands (cf. Ibid, I, 4). Başer also accepts NE211 as an autograph of Limōnčean, without providing a reference or any further argumentation; she also claims, contrary to the physical evidence, that the manuscript contains the seal of Ali Dede (Başer 2014, 10).

<sup>81</sup> Two further collections of Hampartsum notation in Arabic script, AK86 and AM1537 (the signature is given as Ms. 1539, but this seems to be a typographical error), are claimed as Limōnčean autographs in Jäger 1996a, 31n14. However, both are written in different hands again from NE203 and TA110 (as well as from NE211), while a perusal of the contents of AK86 shows that it cannot date from before the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

<sup>82</sup> NE203, p. 18.

<sup>83</sup> Angeleay 1903, 91.



little evidential basis for Jäger's suggestion that Limōnčean was closely acquainted with Nayi Ali Dede, and could therefore have consulted Cantemir's *Edvar*.

More conclusive still are the statements and omissions made by Bžškean in *Eražštut'iwn*. Bžškean refers to Cantemir as a composer of well-known *peşrevs*, but not as a theorist or the inventor of a notation system; nor does he mention Osman Dede, Kevseri or Abdülbaki Dede.<sup>84</sup> Indeed, Bžškean makes no allusion whatsoever to the written tradition of Ottoman music theory. Furthermore, when discussing the history of notation, Bžškean lists a number of peoples who had developed musical writing systems, including the ancient Egyptians, Jews, Armenians and Europeans, but does not include the Turks.<sup>85</sup> Later in the treatise he describes how certain Ottoman *makams* have been lost or reinvented 'because they do not have any signs or neumes', and goes on to explain that 'because these melodies are composed on the *perdes* of the *tanbur* or *keman*, for that reason, by tradition music has been preserved amongst them without writing.'<sup>86</sup>

The argument that Bžškean purposely omitted references to Ottoman music writing due to ethno-religious prejudice can be easily dismissed on the basis of the contents of his treatise, which, as discussed above, displays a close engagement with Ottoman performance practices, musical terminology and theoretical conventions. A more convincing explanation for the omission is that Bžškean and his collaborators simply did not have access, for both material and socio-linguistic reasons, to Ottoman–Turkish texts dealing with notation. Such texts were rare and carefully guarded, and belonged to a culture of Islamicate learning that was closely intertwined with the social distinction of elite Muslims. By contrast, the education and intellectual outlook of scholars such as Bžškean was centred on a separate body of knowledge transmitted in mainly Armenian texts and institutions.<sup>87</sup> The Arabic script thus represented not only a practical barrier to engagement with Ottoman–Turkish music writing, but also a distinct cultural tradition based on linguistic, religious and social difference. The connection between script and cultural identity, already discussed in previous chapters, therefore played an

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<sup>84</sup> Bžškean mentions two *peşrevs* by Cantemir, in *buselik aşiran* and *uşşak* (Bžškean 1997, 141, 146).

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, 92.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 132.

<sup>87</sup> Although Bžškean did read the Arabic script and knew Turkish, as his *K'erakanut'iwn bazmalezu* or 'Polyglot Grammar' (1844) shows, this is a different matter from having an intimate knowledge of, and personal identification with, the Ottoman–Islamic scholarly tradition. Similarly, Ottoman Armenians such as Tanburi Arut'in and Limōnčean were accustomed to speaking and writing Turkish, but always in a vernacular idiom and in the Armenian script, rather than in the literary language cultivated by Muslim elites. Cf. Strauss 1995a, 194–5 on the practical and social obstacles that prevented non-Muslims, with the exception of professional translators, from learning literary Turkish.

important role both in the formation of musical writing systems, and in their transmission and circulation amongst different social groups.

As well as their inaccessibility for socio-cultural or linguistic reasons, the material scarcity of manuscripts was a limiting factor in the diffusion of notation methods. Cantemir's notation system, which was in fact one of the only systems to be adopted by more than a single individual, is a case in point. As we have seen, European commentators such as Saint-Priest were aware of Cantemir's notation method from reading his *History*, but were usually hard-pressed to find written evidence of its use in Istanbul. This led some observers to conclude that notation simply did not exist amongst the Ottomans. The Levantine dragoman Charles Fonton (1725–ca. 1795), for example, who was otherwise exceptionally well informed about Ottoman music, was perplexed by Cantemir's claim to have introduced a notation method to the Turks. Fonton argues that since 'it is a constant ... that the Orientals do not have any notes like ours, nor do they know of them', Cantemir must have been referring to staff notation.<sup>88</sup> Around two decades later, Toderini reported that he had been able to locate a copy of the *Edvar* only with great difficulty, and that, since Cantemir's time, Turkish musicians had 'abandoned notation [and] reverted to composing and performing entirely from memory, following the ancient custom'.<sup>89</sup>

The relatively accurate description of Cantemir's notation method transmitted by Adelburg, and his reference to a 'Medschmaï' (i.e. *mecmua*), suggests that Antoine de Murat had seen a copy of the notation collection.<sup>90</sup> Since, as Adelburg reports, Murat knew Toderini personally, he may have had access to it through this connection.<sup>91</sup> Although, like Bžškean and his circle, Murat was a Catholic Armenian, as a dragoman at the Swedish embassy his knowledge of Cantemir's notation system may therefore have been mediated through his relationship with Toderini or through his other diplomatic contacts.<sup>92</sup> As Toderini's own account makes clear, he actively sought out a copy of the *Edvar*, presumably on the basis of prior knowledge of Cantemir's notation system gained from the latter's *History*. Thus, while it may have been accessible to those in diplomatic circles or to interested European scholars, Cantemir's treatise was not in general circulation or easily available to local non-Muslims such as Bžškean or Limōnčean. Even though the Tiwzeans also had contacts with European scholars

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<sup>88</sup> Fonton's *Essai sur la musique orientale comparée à la musique européenne* [sic] is dated 1751. For a recent edition with facsimile and extensive commentary, see Neubauer 1999. The quote is from *ibid*, 40.

<sup>89</sup> Toderini 1787, I, 225–6.

<sup>90</sup> Adelburg 1867, 74.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid*, 26.

<sup>92</sup> On Antoine de Murat's extensive diplomatic connections, see Testa and Gautier 2003.

and diplomats, they did not necessarily belong to the same circles as Antoine de Murat, and evidently did not have sufficient interest or information to locate a copy of the *Edvar*.

Cantemir's aristocratic status and his orientalist pursuits must also have been factors in the early development and dissemination of his notation method. Although he was himself a non-Muslim subject of the sultan, as a quasi-hereditary prince Cantemir belonged to the highest echelons of the Ottoman elite. His responsibilities as a member of the ruling class, as well as his intellectual proclivities, therefore obliged him to assimilate the written language and cultural habits of Muslim elites to a degree that – although still imperfect – would have been unfeasible and unnecessary for ordinary non-Muslim subjects such as Bžškean or Limōnčean. Similarly, even though Tanburi Arut'in was attached to the court of Mahmud I, his apparent ignorance of Cantemir's treatise – despite the fact that, like Bžškean, he mentions him as a composer – may be due to his lower social status and, relatedly, his unfamiliarity with the written tradition of Ottoman–Turkish music theory.<sup>93</sup>

Cantemir's privileged position at the Ottoman court and his connections with a wider network of ruling elites is further reflected in the patterns of diffusion of the *Edvar*. On the one hand, the Tehran copy of his notation collection seems to be a product of diplomatic relations with Persia, while, on the other, the transmission of his treatise in later Greek-language sources derives from his Phanariot connections.<sup>94</sup> The transmission of both the notation collection and the theoretical part of the *Edvar* in Mevlevi circles presumably stems from the presence of Mevlevi musicians – including Nayi Osman Dede – at the court of Ahmed III during the period in which Cantemir wrote his treatise. By contrast, neither Bžškean nor Limōnčean had a direct

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<sup>93</sup> See Popescu Judetz 2002, 59. He also mentions a *peşrev* by 'Şeyh Osman Efendi', without any reference to the latter's notation method or to his theoretical work.

<sup>94</sup> Popescu-Judetz claims, without giving a reference, that the *Edvar* was amongst personal documents belonging to Cantemir that were acquired by Iōannēs Maurokordatos (1684–1719), chief dragoman at the Ottoman court and later Voivode of Wallachia, after Cantemir left Istanbul in 1710 (Popescu-Judetz 2007, 46). This probably derives from a remark in the *History*: 'After my departure it [a manuscript on Ottoman history] remained at Constantinople, and came, as I hear, into the Hands of John Maurocordatus, who is now Interpreter to the Othman Court, with other Collections of mine concerning the Affairs and Manners of the Turks.' (Cantemir 1734–5, I, 105n17; cf. Guboglu 1960, 136). The scenario is in any case plausible: although Iōannēs Maurokordatos belonged to a rival Phanariot family, he also studied Turkish with Cantemir's teacher, Esad Efendi of Ioannina (Matei 1972, 284–5). Furthermore, Greek-speaking dragomans – who by definition were proficient in literary Turkish, and indeed guarded their knowledge as a valuable professional asset – were at the forefront of intellectual and cultural exchange between Muslims and non-Muslims at the elite level, producing a number of important translations of Greek and other European-language works into Ottoman Turkish during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Strauss 1999a, 1995a, 2003b; Küçük 2013; Meral 2013, 113–16). The dissemination of the *Edvar* in Phanariot circles is presumably the means by which it was accessible to scholars such as Panagiōtēs Chalatzoglou in the mid-eighteenth century (Popescu-Judetz and Ababi Sirli 2000, 37), and thus continued to be a point of reference in Greek-language music theory into the late nineteenth century (Popescu-Judetz 2007, 66–7).

connection with the Ottoman court, while the nature of the Tiwzeans' relationship with the palace was less privileged than Cantemir's and shaped by the different cultural and political conditions of the early nineteenth century.

Both Tanburi Arut'in's notation method and Hampartsum notation, then, emerged independently of the alphanumeric tradition which, based on a Systematist precedent, was transmitted textually between Osman Dede, Cantemir, Kevseri and Abdülbaki Dede. This is not to say, however, that Arut'in or Bžškean and his collaborators did not have access to the oral tradition of Ottoman music, or that there was no permeability between written and oral modes of knowledge diffusion. Both Arut'in's and Bžškean's treatises draw on an orally transmitted body of knowledge that was integral to the dissemination of Ottoman musical materials and practices amongst both Muslims and non-Muslims. It is due to their common basis in this oral tradition that the notation methods of Arut'in and Bžškean, though conceived independently, display structural similarities both with each other and with the letter-based notations of other Ottoman theorists.

In this regard, the most important aspect of Ottoman teaching and performance practice was the system of individual named pitches or *perdes*. These pitch names derived from the frets of the *tanbur*, which formed the main instrument of teaching, performing and theorising from the late seventeenth century onwards. The importance of the *tanbur* for the dissemination of secular Ottoman music amongst Greek Orthodox and Armenian musicians is illustrated by the fact that most of the major figures of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were known as performers of the *tanbur*, or used the instrument as a reference point in their theoretical work. Thus, Cantemir, Tanburi Arut'in and Limōnčean were all *tanbur* players, while Bžškean's treatise makes frequent reference to the instrument as a means of describing modes, pitches and ornamentation.<sup>95</sup> Similarly, Petros Pelopōnnesios is reported to have been an expert *tanbur* player, while Chrysanthos of Madytos described the instrument as the easiest means of learning 'the tones, semitones and, simply, every interval'.<sup>96</sup> As I will show in the following chapter, the use of the *tanbur* amongst non-Muslim musicians is also indicative of their greater involvement in instrumental rather than vocal music in the context of the Ottoman secular tradition.

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<sup>95</sup> As later Armenian writers acknowledged, the signs of Hampartsum notation were originally referred to by Ottoman-Turkish *perde* names because the *tanbur* provided the basis for the pitch system they represented (see Tntesean 1874, 86; Komitas 1897, 222; Angeleay 1903, 80).

<sup>96</sup> Chrysanthos of Madytos 2010, 192. On Pelopōnnesios, see Plemmenos 2001, 113–4 (after Papadopoulos 1890, 320–21).

The system of named *perdes* lent itself to written representation, and was easily translatable into a corresponding set of discrete symbols or letters. This allowed for the creation of other notation methods by individual musicians, which were often commented on by European observers. In the mid-eighteenth century, Saint-Priest (albeit with typical condescension) wrote that

If somebody is found among them who has attained the skill of writing Music, it is owing to his own invention; so that the particular method which he has created can only be understood by himself, and does not display any rules or principles of general convention ... There exist barely three or four of these musicians in Constantinople who have acquired the talent of transferring their compositions to paper, and then each according to a method different from the others.<sup>97</sup>

Similarly, in the 1760s, Carsten Niebuhr ‘was told, in some provinces of Turkey, that there were in Constantinople great musicians, who employed secret signs in recollecting tunes’<sup>98</sup>, while Toderini reported that ‘there are found in Constantinople some very skilled masters, who when composing music use certain signs and notes according to their fancy, though always the same [ones], for the assistance of the memory.’<sup>99</sup> Abdülbaki Dede’s comments on the idiosyncratic use of notation symbols amongst musical practitioners (*ehl-i ‘amel*) also indicate that some of his contemporaries developed individualised writing systems to record their personal repertoire.<sup>100</sup>

These observations underline the fact that notation methods were often created in isolation from each other, based on the practical needs and preferences of individual musicians, rather than in the context of a written theoretical tradition. They also, of course, indicate the rarity of written transmission amongst Ottoman musicians. Even Toderini, who recognised that certain musicians did employ individualised writing systems, did not regard this as typical of Ottoman practice, as his other comments show. Outside the context of the Greek Orthodox or Armenian Church, the use of notation did not have an institutional base and did not form part of the training of the majority of musicians, who continued to rely on oral transmission methods. For this reason, local non-Muslim musicians such as Bžškean and Chrysanthos were able to conclude that notation was entirely unknown to their Muslim counterparts.<sup>101</sup> Again, even if

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<sup>97</sup> Cited in Guys 1776, 31–2.

<sup>98</sup> Niebuhr 1792, I, 131–2.

<sup>99</sup> Toderini 1787, I, 227.

<sup>100</sup> Uslu and Doğrusöz Dişiaçık 2009, 99–100.

<sup>101</sup> See Chrysanthos’ comments in the *Mega Theōrētikon*: ‘Rhythm is called in Turkish *usul* and is taught above everything else to beginners. For the Turks it fulfils a double purpose. One is the same as for us. The other leads

they had encountered the use of personal writing systems amongst Muslim musicians, they evidently did not consider such practices to be representative.

One further reason for the limited diffusion of Ottoman notation methods must be mentioned: the practice of secrecy. Although the trope of clandestine transcription is usually associated with non-Muslim musicians such as Pelopōnnesios and Limōnčean, the first reference to such practices in the Ottoman context in fact appears somewhat earlier in relation to Nayi Osman Dede. According to the Mevlevi scholar Sakıb Dede (1652–1735), who was an exact contemporary of Osman Dede,

when he began to listen from behind the veil of secrecy to the intricate compositions that were hidden and concealed by the expert masters of music, he would add them to his [collection of] wondrous pearls with the aforementioned signs; then, setting that noble document before his eyes, he would request permission to perform; others [would hear] from the mouth of the *ney* the obscure *terkibs* that they had memorised by a thousand pains of learning and studying.<sup>102</sup>

As I will show in more detail in Chapter Seven, musical transmission took place within a framework of close personal relationships and ethical ties, and specialised knowledge or musical materials were not easily shared outside of this context. Notation, then, was often used not to transmit repertoire or to disseminate it to wider circles, but, on the contrary, to conceal musical knowledge from rivals or outsiders. Relatedly, the personal nature of musical writing systems meant that they could appear impenetrable to non-initiates, as indicated by the reactions of Osman Dede's contemporaries, who describe his notation as consisting of 'mind-bewildering signs' and 'knots of invented symbols'<sup>103</sup>, written 'according to his own conventions'.<sup>104</sup>

Further evidence of the secretive, personal nature of notation is provided by the accounts of European travellers. Niebuhr, who had heard rumours of 'great musicians, who employ secret signs in recollecting tunes', continues: 'But, having made enquiry concerning this, upon my return to that capital, I could find nobody that had the slightest idea of musical notes; not even the dervises [sic] of the order of *Merlavi* [sic], who are, however, esteemed the best musicians among the Turks.'<sup>105</sup> This suggests not so much that such systems did not exist amongst the Mevlevis – which, of course, they did – but that they were not readily revealed to curious

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them to remember the mele [i.e. melody] that they are taught or they teach, because the Ottomans use no neumes to write the mele, but keep them in memory with the rhythms.' (Chrysanthos of Madytos 2010, 97).

<sup>102</sup> Şakıb Dede 1283/1866, II, 230.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Sâlim Efendi 1315/1898, 635.

<sup>105</sup> Niebuhr 1792, I, 132.

visitors.<sup>106</sup> Toderini's greater persistence in this matter, and perhaps the closer relationships he had fostered during his extended stay in Istanbul, was thus a significant factor in his eventual access to the Cantemir collection. Similarly, Adelburg writes that notation was 'the individual discovery of particular masters, jealously guarded as their secret'; hence, Tanburi Arut'in's notation method 'remained his particular secret', while those of Cantemir and Pelopōnnesios were 'always the privilege of the "specialists", and penetrated as little among the people as did their own national script.'<sup>107</sup>

Ottoman notation methods, then, were specialised technologies, often developed for use by an individual or a closed group, and not willingly shared with outsiders. In this regard, parallels might be drawn with other specialised – albeit more institutionalised – writing practices in the Ottoman world, such as the use of the *siyakat* variant of the Arabic script in sensitive official documents, or indeed the *ebced* system itself, on which notation methods such as Abdülbaki Dede's were based.<sup>108</sup> The same logic underpinned the Tiwzeans' use of the Armenian script in the financial records of the Imperial Mint, while Christine Philliou has similarly noted that a secret code was employed in correspondence among Phanariot elites.<sup>109</sup> In a more general sense, scripts could be used to encode textual content so that it was accessible only to members of a particular ethno-religious group or social class, thereby reinforcing their privileged status or strengthening communal cohesion. As I will argue in the Chapter Seven, the practice of secrecy, in conjunction with the broader ethno-religious, linguistic and material factors that shaped the dissemination patterns of texts and musical practices, played an important role in the diffusion and use of Hampartsum notation during the nineteenth century.

To conclude, the preceding chapter has shown that Hampartsum notation emerged within the context of a longer tradition of music writing in Ottoman Istanbul. However, whereas previous scholarship has analysed Ottoman notation methods according to a homogeneous, linear historiographical model, I have attempted to make a distinction between two broad streams of textual practice: on the one hand, alphanumeric notations based on the Arabic script, and on the other, neume-based notations inspired by Greek Orthodox and Armenian liturgical practices. By discussing different Ottoman notation systems in relation to their specific historical and cultural contexts, I have shown that they often developed independently of each

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<sup>106</sup> Cf. Behar 1987, 26.

<sup>107</sup> Adelburg 1867, 74. Adelburg is presumably referring here to the Greek script.

<sup>108</sup> On the *siyakat* script, see Fekete 1955; on other uses of the *ebced* series, see Yakıt 1992 and Mercanlıgil 1960.

<sup>109</sup> Philliou 2011, xxvii.

other in response to the needs of individual musicians or social groups, and were shaped by varying intellectual and practical motivations.

For this reason, the notation methods of figures as diverse as Osman Dede, Cantemir, Tanburi Arut'in, Abdülbaki Dede and Limōnčean cannot be regarded either as stages in a teleological process of 'westernisation' or 'modernisation', or as evidence of the '1000-year past of Turkish notation', but need to be considered on their own historically and culturally differentiated terms. More specifically, I have demonstrated that, contrary to the assumptions of previous scholarship, Hampartsum notation was not directly influenced by one of these earlier notation systems. Further, it belongs to a different intellectual and textual tradition from the alphanumeric notations of Osman Dede, Cantemir and Abdülbaki, which were inaccessible to the Armenian reformers for both socio-linguistic and practical reasons. At the same time, however, structural similarities between various alphanumeric and neume-based notations (i.e. those which adopt a principle of discrete pitch representation rather than being truly neumatic) demonstrate their common origins in the oral tradition of secular Ottoman music.

Whereas previous Ottoman notation methods were intended for private use or circulation amongst a limited group of initiates, and thus were not linked to a broader ideological programme of modernisation, the invention of Hampartsum notation represented a clear attempt to harness the question of musical reform to the larger discourse of cultural revival and an emerging sense of national identity. Accordingly, *Eražštut'awn*, unlike the treatises of Cantemir or Abdülbaki Dede, was directed not at a small group of elite connoisseurs, but at a large, anonymous, linguistically-defined community. Moreover, the invention of Hampartsum notation was supported materially and ideologically by communal institutions such as the Mxit'arist order and the transimperial network of Armenian notables, both of which had an active, demonstrable interest in enlightening the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire.

Due to this strong ideological impetus and its broader communal appeal, Hampartsum notation was implemented on a wider scale during the nineteenth century than previous Ottoman notation methods. However, there are several other factors that complicate the history of Hampartsum notation after its invention in 1812. Perhaps most importantly, it was adopted not only by Armenian church musicians, but also by Muslim musicians; likewise, it was initially used by both groups predominantly to record the secular Ottoman repertoire, rather than the canon of Armenian sacred music. To some extent, this is a reflection of the Armenian reformers' intention to create a universally applicable notation method for 'Eastern' music, as well as the entanglement of Armenian church music with the secular Ottoman tradition. The adoption of



Hampartsum notation by Muslim musicians was further enabled by the existence of earlier Ottoman notation methods, and the structural similarities that derived from shared principles of oral theory, performance and pedagogy.

At the same time, however, the linguistic, social and material factors that limited the dissemination of previous notation methods continued to be relevant into the nineteenth century. While it is often presumed that the invention of Hampartsum notation led to a large-scale movement to document the Ottoman repertoire and to transform the process of musical transmission, the diffusion of Hampartsum notation was relatively limited before the late nineteenth century, and it never displaced oral teaching methods. Furthermore, boundaries between different confessional groups were mapped on to the social spaces of musical transmission, obstructing the free circulation of musical practices and technologies. Conversely, major shifts in the social, political and economic realms, which led to increased and qualitatively different contacts between Muslim and non-Muslim musicians, were reflected in the more widespread use of Hampartsum notation during the second half of the nineteenth century. It is to the social spaces of Ottoman music-making, the changing relations between Muslim and non-Muslim musicians, and the wider dissemination of Hampartsum notation that we now turn.

## **PART TWO**

### **THE ADOPTION OF HAMPARTSUM NOTATION**



## 5. Muslims, Non-Muslims and the Social Contexts of Ottoman Music

While in the previous chapters I delineated the textual and intellectual relations between different traditions of Ottoman music writing, in the present chapter I will examine the social dimensions of musical performance and transmission in Istanbul during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By investigating the ways in which broader changes in urban society were linked to the transformation of the social spaces of Ottoman music-making, I will show how Hampartsum notation came to be disseminated outside the context of the Armenian Church, and to be adopted by Muslim musicians. In shifting the emphasis from intellectual genealogies to questions of social and musical practice, my intention is to show how the study of Ottoman music can both benefit from and contribute to debates in the broader field of Ottoman urban history. In particular, the chapter shows how musical interactions between Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the imperial capital were determined by larger dynamics of patronage, institutionalisation and socio-linguistic identity.

A number of scholars have demonstrated that, from at least the seventeenth century onwards, the transmission and performance of Ottoman music was linked to a variety of sites, including not only the imperial court but also the private residences of musicians and patrons as well as public spaces such as coffee houses and religious institutions throughout Istanbul and other urban centres.<sup>1</sup> As Walter Feldman has shown, the emergence of a distinctively Ottoman musical tradition during the same period can be attributed in part to increasing interaction between the court and urban society.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the transition from participation in geographically

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<sup>1</sup> Behar 2006a, 43–53; idem 2010, 170–81. See also Aksoy 2003, 257–69 for an overview of the physical sites of music-making in the Ottoman period, based mainly on the accounts of European travellers. More recently, Panagiotis Poulos has extended the discussion to include the private gatherings of music cognoscenti in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Istanbul (Poulos 2014b), while Maureen Jackson has illustrated the connections between the urban landscape of Istanbul and the music of Turkish Jewry during the same period (Jackson 2013).

<sup>2</sup> Feldman 1996, 55–64 and *passim*.

broad, Persianate musical sphere to a more locally oriented musical tradition was closely connected to changes in the urban and social geography of the imperial capital.<sup>3</sup>

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the increased mobility of Ottoman subjects, the growth of the districts of Galata and the upper Bosphorus, and the transimperial circulation of people, goods and knowledge contributed to the emergence of new forms of sociability. Here, the boundary between the imperial centre and the subject population began to fray, as members of the imperial family, an increasingly autonomous class of *grandees* and other elements of urban society cultivated a life of enjoyment and public display that was closely intertwined with the aesthetic pleasures of the urban environment.<sup>4</sup> In this context, sites of musical performance began to include not only the closed spaces of the court, but also the pleasure gardens and villas constructed on the shores of the Bosphorus and in the vineyards of Pera.<sup>5</sup>

A further factor in the diversification of sites of musical performance and transmission was the increasing prominence of the Mevlevi Sufi order. During the late seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries, not only did Mevlevi musicians become highly influential in the fields of composition, performance practice and music theory, but the Mevlevi lodge also became the most important institution for the transmission of the Ottoman repertoire outside of the palace school.<sup>6</sup> In a similar way to the new class of notables, the Mevlevi order existed as an autonomous institution, but at the same time was closely connected to and dependent on the patronage of the court. As physical sites, Mevlevihanes functioned as interfaces between the elite culture of the court and high *ulema* on the one hand, and the artisanal and lower scribal classes on the other, offering musical training and exposure to the Ottoman repertoire through semi-public performances to all ranks of urban society.

Beginning in the late seventeenth century, then, two new sources of patronage and musical activity emerged to rival the imperial court, both of which were linked to increasing social mobility and the transformation of urban space: firstly, a class of Ottoman notables who patronised music as an aspect of their growing political and fiscal autonomy and engagement

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<sup>3</sup> For recent appraisals of this broad historical trajectory, see Behar 2010, 154–93 and Feldman 2015. For detailed analyses of the transformations in musical theory and practice that this entailed, see Wright 1992b, 2015a, 2015b. See also Neubauer 2012–14.

<sup>4</sup> Hamadeh 2008, 2007a, 2007b; Wishnitzer 2015, 2014; Boyar and Fleet 2010, 230–44.

<sup>5</sup> For contemporary descriptions of such scenes, see Sirkâtîbi Ahmed Efendi 1993 and Hâfız Hızır İlyas Ağa 2011. The beauty of the Bosphorus had already become a common poetic trope by the mid-eighteenth century (Artan 2014). Cf. Hamadeh 2008, 171–89. See Andrews 1985, 143–74, Artan 2013 and Ertuğ 2014 for discussion of the social, cultural and physical contexts of Ottoman song.

<sup>6</sup> Feldman 1996, 85–99; Özcan 2010; Küçük 2003, 377–95. For general information about the history of the Mevlevi order in the nineteenth century, see Ösen 2015; Öztürk 2010; and Küçük 2003.

with new modes and sites of sociability, and secondly, the Mevlevi Sufi order, whose lodges around Istanbul (and in other urban centres of the empire) acted as alternative foci for the performance and transmission of the Ottoman repertoire and facilitated interaction between the courtly elites and wider urban society.

Alongside the palace, the Muslim ruling class and the Mevlevihane, it is necessary to consider two further sources of musical patronage connected with the non-Muslim communities of the capital: on the one hand, the Greek Orthodox and Armenian Churches, and on the other, networks of non-ecclesiastical elites including the Phanariots and the Armenian *amira* class. These areas overlapped with each other in a number of ways: Greek Orthodox and Armenian notables supported churches through material donations, but also patronised musicians directly and had ties to the court and to Muslim elites. Likewise, non-Muslim musicians were active within religious or communal contexts, but also at the Ottoman palace. At the same time, musical boundaries and contacts between Muslims and non-Muslims were determined by underlying patterns of social and religious distinction, which in turn were mapped onto the urban geography of Istanbul. Key to understanding the relation between broader historical processes and the social transformation of Ottoman music-making is the shifting dynamic between the court and the wider urban environment.

### 5.1. Non-Muslim Musicians at the Ottoman Court

In the classical Ottoman period, musicians were either brought from other (conquered) urban centres of the Islamic world or, in the sixteenth century, specially trained as courtier–musicians in the palace school through the *devşirme* system.<sup>7</sup> However, in the process of localisation described by Feldman and others, the court began to draw upon a more diverse group of amateur or ‘free’ musicians connected with the bureaucracy, the religious classes and other areas of urban society.<sup>8</sup> In this system, many musicians who taught or performed at the Ottoman court were not trained and employed solely within the palace (*enderun*), but came from ‘outside’ (*birun*) and were retained on the basis of their musical ability and renown. By the late seventeenth century, this had opened the way for non-Muslim musicians to be employed as teachers and performers at the Ottoman court.

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<sup>7</sup> On the organisation of the palace schools (including the *meşkhane*), see Ergin 1939–41, I, 1–20.

<sup>8</sup> Feldman 1996, 39–84; Behar 2010, 154–93.

However, by dint of their religious and therefore legal status, non-Muslims could not be fully integrated into the Ottoman state service, and were employed on a piecemeal basis, while musicians on the permanent staff were necessarily Muslim. This was noted by Toderini in the late eighteenth century:

In the Seraglio there is a large ensemble of chamber instruments for the Sultan, which is composed solely of Turks. They perform music several times a week at the pleasure of the Emperor. Outside the Seraglio there are other salaried [and] very skilled performers who reside in Constantinople, [including] Greeks, Armenians, Turks and Jews. Once or twice a month they are summoned for the Sultan's gathering[s].<sup>9</sup>

Thus, non-Muslim musicians were active primarily outside the court: they were not a part of the Sultan's retinue and did not have a permanent position on the palace staff or in the religious or scribal services, but instead were employed as performers or teachers on an occasional and informal basis.

Furthermore, while it is undoubtedly true that individuals such as Kemani Corci (d. ca. 1775) or Tanburi İsak (d. after 1807) achieved fame in courtly circles (and were well rewarded for their services), the total number of non-Muslim musicians employed even indirectly by the palace was negligible before the mid-nineteenth century. In İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı's collation of palace expenditure on musicians, of approximately 175 musicians mentioned by name who received payment during the period 1421–1839 (or 100 between 1648 and 1839), a mere four are non-Muslim.<sup>10</sup> This indicates that musicians directly or indirectly employed by the court were typically Muslim (whether by birth or conversion) even after the transformation of the social bases of the Ottoman musical tradition in the seventeenth century.

For earlier periods it might plausibly be claimed that the absence of non-Muslim names simply reflects the demography of the Ottoman Empire, yet this is a far less convincing argument in relation to the early nineteenth century, when non-Muslims made up more than half of the population of the capital. Indeed, the fact that no non-Muslim musician is mentioned in Uzunçarşılı's study during the reign of Mahmud II – a period when Christians and Jews

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<sup>9</sup> Toderini 1787, I, 240. Cf. Adelburg 1867, 66.

<sup>10</sup> Uzunçarşılı 1977. No non-Muslim musician is mentioned in the palace records before the Tanburi Angeli (one of Cantemir's Greek teachers) in 1678 (ibid, 91). The other non-Muslim musicians are Kemani Corci (Greek; mentioned in 1753), Tanburi İsak (Jewish; mentioned in 1795–1806) and Kemani Miron (Moldavian; mentioned in 1795–1806) (ibid, 94–5, 104–6). Two other unnamed Jewish musicians are mentioned in 1683 and 1744, while a certain 'Tanburi Halsar' (of unknown origin; possibly a misreading) is also mentioned in 1744 (ibid, 92, 94). Several other references to Jewish *tanbur* players are found in official documents from the late seventeenth century (Toker 2016, 27); the names 'Tanbur Muallimi Halifer Yahûdi' and 'Tanbur Muallimi Haiko Yehûdi [sic]' given here presumably belong to the unnamed Jewish *tanbur* players mentioned in Uzunçarşılı's study.

collectively formed the majority of Istanbul's population – implies that the the main sources of patronage for non-Muslim musicians were found outside the Ottoman court. In addition, it points towards the various forms of distinction, based on religious, cultural and linguistic as well as legal and institutional factors, that underpinned the Ottoman social order.

In the biographical dictionary of musicians compiled by Esad Efendi (1685–1753) and dedicated to Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Paşa in 1728–30, non-Muslims are entirely absent.<sup>11</sup> Both Feldman and Behar have emphasised the heterogeneity of the musicians included by Esad Efendi, which to some extent reflects the process of diversification in Ottoman music described above.<sup>12</sup> Yet most of the individuals mentioned in *Aṭrabü'l-âşâr* are either connected with Muslim religious institutions or are employed in some capacity by the Ottoman state, with the exception of a relatively small number of artisans.<sup>13</sup> So while it is valid to say that the tradition of Ottoman music during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had a more diverse demographic profile than in earlier periods, and was less closely tied to the palace, the general impression conveyed by the *Aṭrabü'l-âşâr* is that it was still associated primarily with the Muslim religious and bureaucratic classes.

A number of other sources show that non-Muslim musicians continued to occupy a marginal position at court even in the nineteenth century. Süleyman Faik Efendi (1787–1837), secretary to the Grand Vizier during the reigns of Selim III and Mahmud II, mentions 20 musicians by name in his description of musical life at court (ca. 1834), of whom only three are non-Muslim.<sup>14</sup> Hızır İlyas Ağa's (d. 1864) detailed account of palace life, covering the period 1812–30, is even more reticent with regards to non-Muslims: although he makes frequent reference to singers and instrumentalists who performed at court, İlyas Ağa does not mention a single non-Muslim musician.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, in the court history of Tayyarzade Ata Bey (d. after 1880), all of the 50 or so musicians who are mentioned as having a direct connection to the

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<sup>11</sup> Mehmed Es'ad, *Aṭrabü'l-âşâr fî tezkireti 'urefâi'l-edvâr*. İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Türkçe Yazmalar 6204. A facsimile, transliteration and commentary are provided in Behar 2010.

<sup>12</sup> Behar 2010, 158–63; Feldman 1996, 80.

<sup>13</sup> According to Behar's classification of occupations in the *Aṭrabü'l-âşâr*, 58 out of 75 (77%) are connected to religious or state institutions, while 6 are artisanal and 11 are 'various/unknown' (Behar 2010, 163). Feldman's slightly different classification lists 4 individuals as 'artisans' and 5 as 'ambiguous, possibly artisans', while the remaining 55 (86% of the total) belong to the religious or bureaucratic hierarchies (Feldman 1996, 77). In this regard, Behar's assertion that the *Aṭrabü'l-âşâr* includes musicians from 'every class and stratum of Ottoman society without exception, [including] every occupational group, every educational level and every conceivable social origin' (Behar 2010, 159) seems somewhat short-sighted, in that it ignores entire sections of the Ottoman population including women and non-Muslims. Behar briefly discusses the absence of non-Muslims at *ibid*, 33–4.

<sup>14</sup> Süleyman Fâ'ik, *Mecmû'a*. İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, Türkçe Yazmalar 3472, ff. 92v–93v. See Kellner-Heinkele 1981 for a translation and commentary.

<sup>15</sup> Hâfız Hızır İlyas 1276/1859. See Hâfız Hızır İlyas Ağa 2011 for a transliteration and commentary, and *idem* 1987 for a translation into modern Turkish.



palace (primarily during the reign of Mahmud II) are Muslim.<sup>16</sup> Two further groups of musicians are mentioned: The first participated in regular musical and literary gatherings at court, and was made up of Mevlevi *şeyhs* and members of the high *ulema*<sup>17</sup>; the second is described as consisting of ‘music masters [from] outside [the palace]’, and includes nine Muslims and six non-Muslims.<sup>18</sup> Non-Muslim musicians at the Ottoman court thus continued to be limited in number in the early nineteenth century, and were always associated with the city (‘outside’), unlike Muslim musicians, who could also be accepted into the formal palace hierarchy.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, non-Muslim musicians had begun to be employed in greater numbers at court, a process that was part of a wider opening up of state and society as part of the Tanzimat reforms. As recent archival research by Hikmet Toker has shown, court records from the reigns of Abdülmecid (1839–61) and Abdülaziz (1861–76) indicate that over half of the musicians in the palace instrumental ensemble (*sazendegan-ı hassa*) were non-Muslim.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, non-Muslims were now regularly employed in the palace music school (*meşkhane*) not only as instrumental teachers, as had been the case in earlier periods, but also as vocal teachers.<sup>20</sup>

Yet crucially, religious segregation still existed between Muslim and non-Muslim musicians. Official documents mention an instrumental ensemble made up only of Christians (‘Hristiyan sazende takımı’), meaning predominantly Orthodox Greeks and Armenians, in 1867–8.<sup>21</sup> According to Takiyüddin Mehmed Emin Ali, who served as a palace musician from 1828–78, regular performances of chamber music were given alternately by Muslim and Christian ensembles:

The special days for musicians occur twice a week ... One week the Muslim musicians [perform], the other week the Christian musicians give a musical performance [during the sultan’s evening meal] ... Some of the Christians such as Kemani Todoraki are also included in the Muslim ensemble, because there is no one who can play both the *keman*

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<sup>16</sup> Tayyâr-zâde Atâ 2010, I, 238–40; *ibid*, III, 252–3.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, III, 254.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, III, 110. The following non-Muslim names are given: Mîrûn (Moldavian, fl. ca. 1800), Avatya (?), Todoraki (Greek; d. 1860?), Hâşköylü Ovanis (Armenian, otherwise unknown), Mârkar (Armenian; d. 1880?), Nikoğos (Armenian; d. 1890?). Several of the Muslim musicians listed as ‘music masters from outside the palace’ are also mentioned in connection with the palace music school (*ibid*, I, 238–40).

<sup>19</sup> The list of salaries for members of the *sazendegan-ı hassa* under Abdülmecid includes 11 Muslims and 13 non-Muslims (indicated by their personal names) (Toker 2016, 63–4); similar figures are seen in lists of personnel from the period 1862–78 (*ibid*, 183–95).

<sup>20</sup> The Armenian musician Nikoğos is described as a ‘singing instructor’ (‘Hanende Muallimi’) or ‘singing master’ (‘Hanende Ustası’) (Toker 2016, 62, 142–3).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, 198.

and the *lavta* like Kemani Todoraki, [so] they say that it is religiously permissible; after Kemani Rıza Efendi passed away they accepted Todoraki into the Muslim ensemble.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, although non-Muslim musicians were more fully integrated into court life than in earlier periods, their participation in music-making with Muslim musicians occurred (in theory at least) only in exceptional circumstances, based on practical necessity or the extraordinary talent of individual musicians.

That Muslim and non-Muslim musicians were regarded as belonging to distinct cultural spheres is also suggested by Süleyman Faik Efendi's clear differentiation between these groups. Corci, Miron (fl. ca. 1800) and Todorî (d. 1860?), for example, are mentioned as the best *keman* players 'among the non-Muslims' ('zimmîlerde'), while Tahir Ağa (d. 1828) is considered the best *tanbur* player 'from [among] the Muslims' ('müslümândan').<sup>23</sup> Likewise, his complaint that there are 'not even three well-trained [musicians] among the Muslims' ('ehl-i islâmda') implies that such musicians did exist amongst the Greek, Armenian or Jewish *millets*, and thus that musical life developed independently within these confessional communities.

In sum, the disproportionately low representation of non-Muslims amongst court musicians, together with indications of religious segregation, suggests that sources of musical patronage and spaces of performance amongst the non-Muslim *millets* were to a large degree independent of the court. This is understandable given the close relationship between religious identity and the institutional organisation of Ottoman society. The court and its hierarchical network of educational, bureaucratic, military and religious institutions was the mainstay of the Muslim ruling class, and was necessarily Islamic in character. Before the mid-nineteenth century, court musicians were usually employed in official positions in the sultan's retinue, such as gentleman-in-waiting (*musahib*) or halberdier (*çavuş*), which could only be held by Muslims.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, daily musical activities at the palace often revolved around Islamic festivities or religious practices, or official ceremonies in which the customs, language and ideals of the state religion were foregrounded. As Takîyüddin's comments indicate, religious identity continued to be relevant even after the reforms of the Tanzimat had led to increased participation in court life by non-Muslim musicians.

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<sup>22</sup> Takîyü'd-Dîn Mehmed Emîn Âlî, *Mûsîka-yı hümâyûn târîhi*. İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Atatürk Kitaplığı, Bel\_Yz\_K.001124, fol. 34v (following later pagination). Cf. Toker 2012, 153; idem 2016, 196–7.

<sup>23</sup> Süleymân Fâ'îk, *Mecmû'a*, f. 92v.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Feldman 1996, 72–80.

In the following section, I will show how correlations between musical genre, confessional identity and the social bases of musical patronage shifted in parallel with broader changes in Ottoman urban society. As I will demonstrate, the courtly vocal repertoire was dominated by Muslim composers well into the nineteenth century, whereas non-Muslims cultivated parallel streams of religious and secular vocal music defined principally by their linguistic content. However, it is also clear that musical practices were shared to some extent across confessional boundaries, and that mechanisms must therefore have existed to facilitate interactions between Muslim and non-Muslim musicians. A discussion of these interactions can, in turn, shed light on the social and musical transformations that enabled the cross-cultural dissemination of Hampartsum notation.

## 5.2. Musical Genre and Socio-Linguistic Identity

Before the nineteenth century, the vocal repertoire most closely associated with the Ottoman court – that is, secular music in Ottoman Turkish, composed in song forms such as the *beste* and *kar* – was created almost exclusively by Muslims. This can be seen from Hafız Post’s (d. 1694) song-text anthology, the most significant collection of courtly vocal repertoire from the seventeenth century, which does not include a single attribution to a non-Muslim composer.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, Esad Efendi’s *Aṭrabü’l-āṣār* is concerned mainly with composers of courtly vocal music, but does not contain any biographies of non-Muslim musicians. The general absence of non-Muslims among composers of courtly vocal repertoire before the nineteenth century is linked to the social and institutional structures that supported musical training within different confessional communities. Of primary importance here is the question of language and the cultural and aesthetic values that were performed and transmitted through sung poetry.

While large parts of the non-Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire may have spoken Turkish as a first or second language, there was a wide gulf between everyday Turkish and the literary language associated with the ruling class.<sup>26</sup> Other than official translators, who during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were recruited from a handful of elite Phanariot families, non-Muslims did not have access to the educational structures that would provide knowledge of Ottoman Turkish as a literary language.<sup>27</sup> Courtly vocal music was intimately

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<sup>25</sup> Wright 1992b.

<sup>26</sup> Strauss 1995b; Wittmann 2016.

<sup>27</sup> Findley 1982, 340; 1995a, 194–5; Meral 2013, 113–16. For a recent overview of the linguistic landscape of Istanbul prior to the eighteenth century, see Csató et al 2016. On the late Ottoman period, see Strauss 2011.

tied to the processes of training and socialisation by which Muslims or converts became part of the ruling class, and its full appreciation demanded familiarity not only with the language of Ottoman poetry but also with the Islamicate cultural values it embodied, and which formed an integral part of elite Muslim sociability.<sup>28</sup> Understandably then, since non-Muslims had neither the opportunity nor the desire to undergo the same processes of education and enculturation as Muslim elites, they were seldom recognised as composers or performers of courtly vocal music.

Before the mid-nineteenth century, the only exceptions to this were a very small number of Greek Orthodox musicians, perhaps reflecting the easier access that Phanariot elites had to the Ottoman court, and in particular their privileged role as translators and diplomats. But although a relatively large number of vocal works in Ottoman Turkish by Zaharya (d. 1740?) are preserved in late nineteenth-century sources, their attribution is far from certain.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, it is noteworthy that Zaharya, the only major non-Muslim composer of Turkish vocal music before the mid-nineteenth century, is believed to have later converted to Islam and accepted a high bureaucratic post, becoming known as Mir Cemil.<sup>30</sup> In the case that this claim is untrue, it would anyway imply that a number of vocal pieces traditionally attributed to Zaharya were in fact composed by a Muslim musician.

Musical life amongst the Greek Orthodox and Armenian *millets* revolved primarily not around the court, but around the institution of the Church. This was especially true for vocal music, which was a focal point for religious practice, and at the same time closely connected to the educational and social structures by which Ottoman Christians became integrated into their communities. At the same time, cantors such as Petros Peloponnēsios composed secular songs in Greek that borrowed from the modal and rhythmic structures of Ottoman court music.<sup>31</sup> However, Phanariot songs were simpler than the courtly repertoire in terms of their linguistic, formal and rhythmic characteristics.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Gapasaxalean's song-text collection from 1803 indicates that Armenian cantors were familiar with popular Turkish-language songs, but had limited access to the more complex repertoire cultivated among Muslim elites.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Andrews 1985. On the political and historiographical dimensions of Ottoman poetry, see Holbrook 1999 and idem 1994, 13–31.

<sup>29</sup> See Jäger 1996b, 161–2. Brandl claims that Zaharya was 'chief musician' under Ahmed III and Mahmud I (Brandl 1989, 157–8), but he is mentioned nowhere in court records from this period (see Uzunçarşılı 1977). In the large corpus of secular Ottoman music in Middle Byzantine notation, only two works (one *peşrev* and one *beste*) are attributed to Zaharya (Kalaitzidis 2012, 88).

<sup>30</sup> Öztuna 1990, II, 508–9.

<sup>31</sup> Plemmenos 2001; Brandl 1989. See also Plemmenos 2003, 183–6 on Ottoman music at the Phanariot courts of Jassy and Bucharest. On Peloponnēsios' religious compositions, see Conomos 1988, 98–9.

<sup>32</sup> Plemmenos 2001, 104–105, 127–67.

<sup>33</sup> Gapasaxalean 1803c. See also Anonymous 1865, 1871.

In parallel with their increasing visibility at the Ottoman court, non-Muslims began to play a more important role in Turkish-language vocal music during the nineteenth century. Whereas non-Muslims are entirely absent from Hafız Post's seventeenth-century anthology and from *Aṭrabü'l-āṣār*, Haşim Bey's *Mecmû'a*, first published in 1854 and appearing in a second edition in 1864, contains a significant proportion of songs in Turkish by contemporary Greek and Armenian composers such as Usta Yani (d. 1890?), Nikoğos (d. 1890?) and Etmekçi Bağdasar (d. 1880?).<sup>34</sup> As noted above, some of these musicians were informally connected with the court or even (in the case of Nikoğos) employed as vocal teachers at the palace music school.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, while the corpus of earlier manuscript collections in Middle Byzantine notation includes only a few songs in Turkish, the printed anthologies that were published from 1820 onwards (in Chrysanthine notation) contain large numbers of Turkish-language vocal compositions.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, more than half of the extant corpus of manuscripts in Hampartsum notation consists of collections of Turkish vocal music notated by Armenian musicians during the latter part of the nineteenth century (see Chapter Six).

The increased participation of non-Muslims in Turkish-language vocal music during the nineteenth century can be connected to a broad range of political and socio-economic changes. The administrative reforms pursued by the Sublime Porte, especially after 1856, allowed non-Muslims to be integrated into the bureaucratic apparatus of the Ottoman state and, to a limited extent, to enjoy a more equal status with Muslim subjects.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, the social position of non-Muslim communities in the urban centres of the empire, who were already in contact with Europe through commerce, missionary activity and diplomacy, benefited from intensified political engagement with European states and increased international trade.<sup>38</sup> In parallel with these political and economic shifts, the emergence of Ottoman print culture and the reform of educational infrastructures contributed to the vernacularisation of written Turkish. The literary language of the court thus began to be replaced by a simpler and more accessible idiom that was appropriate to the modernising Ottoman bureaucracy and to the ostensibly populist and supra-confessional orientation of the reformed education system.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Hâşim Beğ 1280/1864. The theoretical section of Haşim Bey's *mecmua* has been transliterated by Gökhan Yalçın (2016).

<sup>35</sup> Tayyâr-zâde Atâ 2010, III, 110; Toker 2016, 62, 142–3.

<sup>36</sup> Bardakçı 1993; Kappler 2002.

<sup>37</sup> İnalçık 1973; Findley 1982; Rahme 1999.

<sup>38</sup> Kasaba 1988, 28–32.

<sup>39</sup> Ortaylı 2012, 164–6, 194–227. On language reform, see also Lewis 1999, 12–26. On education, see Göçek 1993; Somel 2001; Fortna 2002; Deringil 2011, 93–111.

In musical terms, the decline of the courtly *fasıl*, with its complex formal and rhythmic structures and refined poetry, was accompanied by the popularisation of lighter song forms in vernacular Turkish, especially the *şarki*.<sup>40</sup> Hence, as non-Muslims became more prominent in public life in Istanbul due to the large-scale political and economic transformations mentioned above, they also participated in the transition from an elite, courtly musical tradition to a more popular, urban music culture.<sup>41</sup> This was facilitated by the partial secularisation of Ottoman state and society, which led to increased interactions between Muslims and non-Muslims, and by the emergence of a shared language of public discourse and popular culture that was made accessible to different confessional communities through print and education.

But while it is fair to say that non-Muslims played a greater role in Ottoman–Turkish vocal music during the mid to late nineteenth century relative to earlier periods, even here they remain statistically underrepresented. In Haşim Bey’s anthology, only 90 of the approximately 1035 works by named composers are attributed to non-Muslim musicians (i.e. 9 per cent of the total) – that is, less than a quarter of what would be expected on the basis of population figures for the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>42</sup> A similar picture is given by manuscript collections of Hampartsum notation from the nineteenth century: of around 530 vocal works by named composers (including concordances) in 16 manuscripts from Istanbul University Library, only 33 (or 6 per cent) are attributed to non-Muslims.<sup>43</sup>

These figures are at odds with the popular assumption that the late nineteenth century – or, indeed, the Ottoman period as a whole – was a golden age of inter-confessional music-making. Instead, they point towards a more complex situation in which non-Muslims became relatively better represented among composers of Ottoman–Turkish vocal music, but in statistical terms were still a marginal presence. Viewed in a broader social and political landscape, this state of affairs is consistent with the continued marginality of non-Muslims in Ottoman public life after the Tanzimat reforms. As a number of historians have argued, in

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<sup>40</sup> Cf. Jäger 1996a, 104–18; Aksoy 2008, 28. For technical descriptions of the musical and linguistic characteristics of the *şarki*, see Öztuna 1990, II, 332–6; Yavaşca 2002, 122 ff.; Andrews 1976, 160; Kappler 2002, 45–57.

<sup>41</sup> It should be noted, however, that popular repertoire was also cultivated at the Ottoman court in earlier periods. On ‘popular’ and ‘folk’ music at the Ottoman palace and in the imperial capital, see Wright 1992b, 159–60; Senel 2015; Soydaş 2016; Aksoy 2008, 39–41; Toker 2015. For a sample of the wide range of art forms and entertainments enjoyed by the Ottoman sultan at the turn of the nineteenth century, see Beyhan 2014 and Candan 2013.

<sup>42</sup> Haşim Beğ 1280/1864.

<sup>43</sup> See Jäger 1996b.

practice the Tanzimat did not erase existing ethno-religious divisions, and in some cases exacerbated tensions between Muslim and non-Muslim communities.<sup>44</sup>

It is therefore unsurprising that the field of Turkish-language vocal music continued to be dominated by Muslim composers, despite a clear demographic shift in relation to earlier periods. Conversely, this suggests that musical activity among the non-Muslim *millets* continued, in general, to be centred on religious or communal genres and performance contexts – i.e. those which, for social or linguistic reasons, were inaccessible to Muslims – even in the late nineteenth century. Furthermore, while non-Muslim musicians composed contrafacta of popular Turkish songs using their communal languages, even for use in sacred contexts, examples of the reverse (i.e. Muslim composers appropriating Greek, Armenian or Jewish vocal genres) are unknown.<sup>45</sup> This would imply that, particularly in the area of vocal composition, the direction of musical influence flowed mainly from the Muslim community to the non-Muslim *millets*, rather than vice versa. Alternatively put, the mode of interaction in this domain may have been less one of intercultural exchange than of assimilation by non-Muslims to the dominant culture.

However, a number of caveats are in order. The above discussion has focused on the composition rather than performance of Turkish-language vocal repertoire, and mainly during the period up to the mid-nineteenth century. Yet as I will show in the following chapter, Armenian scribes were responsible for notating a large proportion of the Ottoman vocal repertoire after ca. 1880, indicating that they were more prominent in the realm of performance during this period. Moreover, Armenian musicians notated not only vernacular genres such as the *şarki*, but also courtly vocal repertoire, marking a significant shift from earlier periods.

In addition, while non-Muslim composers of Ottoman–Turkish vocal music appear to have been quantitatively marginal, there is reason to argue that they had a qualitatively significant impact on the development of this tradition in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One indicator of this is the correlation between non-Muslim participation and the vernacularisation of the Ottoman–Turkish repertoire. In this regard, Phanariot song might be understood not as a poor imitation of the courtly vocal tradition, but as a precursor to the popular *şarki* of the nineteenth century, and thus as an index of larger social and cultural processes that encompassed both Muslim and non-Muslim communities. Likewise, the role of Armenians as

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<sup>44</sup> Salzmann 2012, 78–9; Rahme 1999, 28–9; Masters 2001, 130–68; Findley 1982; idem 1989, 261–81; Somel 2001, 12, 240–41; Göçek 1993, 517–25.

<sup>45</sup> Plemmenos 2001, 168–74; Tntesean 1874, 89; Komitas Vardapet 1897, 224; Feldman 1996, 50; Seroussi 2004, 1991; Tietze and Yahalom 1995; Jackson 2013.

performers of vernacular Turkish song even in the late eighteenth century, like their contributions to Turkish-language literature and theatre, may be connected to their later involvement in popular urban music culture. Despite their still limited visibility, then, non-Muslims were instrumental to the transition from the older Ottoman vocal tradition, closely associated with the court and the Muslim ruling elite, to the more demotic, urban and ethnically diverse music culture of the late nineteenth century.

As I have argued above, Ottoman–Turkish vocal music drew on poetic and aesthetic models that formed part of a larger culture of Islamic learning, and was closely bound up with the religious identity and social distinction of Muslim elites. On a practical level, court singers were often trained as *müezzins* or Koranic reciters, and during the nineteenth century were formally organised as the ‘*müezzins of the sultan*’ (*müezzinan-ı hassa*). This meant that they were not only performers of secular music, but were also responsible for the performance of religious duties such as the call to prayer, Koranic recitation or life-cycle rituals, and thus were Muslim by definition.<sup>46</sup> By contrast, instrumental music was performed by the ‘instrumentalists of the sultan’ (*sazendegan-ı hassa*), of whom almost half were non-Muslims by the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>47</sup> Thus, whereas vocal music was more exclusive due to its close association with religious practice and with the literary culture of the ruling class, instrumental music – which presented fewer cultural or linguistic barriers to musicians without an Islamic education – was more open to non-Muslim performers.

In contradistinction to their almost complete absence from the courtly vocal tradition, non-Muslims were recognised as instrumental performers from at least the late seventeenth century. Evliya Çelebi (1611–82) mentions several non-Muslim musicians in the first volume of his *Seyahatname*, all of whom were known as instrumentalists.<sup>48</sup> Cantemir (himself a respected *tanbur* player and composer of instrumental music) noted that ‘for Instruments two Greeks excell’d, Kiemani Ahmed, a Renegade, and Angeli Orthodox [sic] ... and also Chelebico a Jew’.<sup>49</sup> In the mid-eighteenth century, Charles Fonton credited the Greek Orthodox musician Corci with introducing the *viola d’amore* to the Ottomans, and with being its most celebrated

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<sup>46</sup> Toker 2016, 47–50, 226–42.

<sup>47</sup> However, these formal divisions were not absolute: as Toker notes, musicians could perform (and be remunerated) as part of both the *müezzinan-ı hassa* and the *sazendegan-ı hassa*, and – as in the case of Kemani Todoraki – non-Muslims may have performed alongside Muslims as both vocalists and instrumentalists in certain contexts (Toker 2016, 47, 196–7).

<sup>48</sup> Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Muhammed Zillî 1996, 301–307. He mentions three Armenians, two Jews and one Greek Orthodox instrumentalist (ibid, 303). Non-Muslims do not appear among the vocalists listed in the preceding pages (ibid, 301–302).

<sup>49</sup> Cantemir 1734–5, 151n14. He goes on to give the names of four Muslim instrumentalists.



performer – a claim that is supported by the large number of instrumental works attributed to him in contemporary and later sources.<sup>50</sup> Fonton also singles out the Jewish *tanbur* player Musi (fl. ca. 1750) as one of the few most highly regarded performers of Ottoman music.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, the non-Muslim musicians whose names appear in court records between 1678 and 1839 (as well as the three non-Muslim musicians mentioned by Süleyman Faik Efendi) were all employed as performers of the *tanbur* or *keman*.<sup>52</sup>

Although attributions to non-Muslims make up only a small proportion of the instrumental collections of Cantemir and Kevseri, the situation still stands in contrast to the vocal repertoire of the period (as represented by Hafiz Post's anthology and *Aṭrabü'l-āṣār*).<sup>53</sup> The discrepancy between the importance of non-Muslims as composers of instrumental music and their underrepresentation in the vocal repertoire is thrown into sharper relief in nineteenth-century sources: in Jäger's catalogue, 106 instrumental works (including concordances) are attributed to non-Muslim composers, compared to 33 vocal works.<sup>54</sup> While this still makes up only 19 per cent of the total (of around 550 instrumental works), it is significantly closer to contemporaneous population figures than the equivalent percentage for vocal works (6 per cent). Moreover, non-Muslims such as Corci (19 works) and İsak (47 works) are amongst the most prolific instrumental composers; since these figures include variants recorded in several different sources, they are also an indication of the popularity of these composers' works.

Although non-Muslim instrumentalists at the Ottoman court were still relatively few in number before the mid-nineteenth century, they often enjoyed a special status on account of their performance skills. This was reflected in the considerable material rewards offered to them by the sultan: Kemani Miron, for example, was the second-highest paid musician at the court of Selim III, while (under Abdülmecid) Kemani Todoraki was paid nearly twice as much as the celebrated singer and composer Haşim Bey (d. 1868), and more than ten times as much as other

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<sup>50</sup> Neubauer 1999, 73–4. In a mid-eighteenth-century index of instrumental works, 10% (29 out of 300) are attributed to Corci: see Hekîmbaşı 'Abdü'l-'Azîz Efendi, *Mecmû'a*. İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, Türkçe Yazmalar 3866, ff. 389a–393b. For a partial list of Corci's instrumental compositions in nineteenth-century sources, see Jäger 1996b, 34–5.

<sup>51</sup> Neubauer 1999, 40–41.

<sup>52</sup> Uzunçarşılı 1977, 91–2, 94–5, 104–106; Toker 2016, 27; Süleymân Fâ'ik, *Mecmû'a*, f. 92v.

<sup>53</sup> There are a total of 20 instrumental works (out of approximately 350) by non-Muslim composers in the Cantemir collection: one work each by 'Ermeni' ('Armenian') Murad Çelebi and 'Yahudi' ('Jew') Harun, three by Cantemir's teacher, Tanburi Angeli, and 15 by Cantemir himself (see Wright 1992a; on the authenticity of works attributed to Cantemir, see Wright 2000, 579–83). Of the five additional composer names found in the mid-eighteenth-century Kevseri collection, two (Corci and Çuhacioğlu [aka Isaac Amigo]) are non-Muslim, but Kevseri does not provide notation for the works attributed to them (Ekinci 2012, 207–8); the Tehran copy of the Cantemir collection does not add anything to this picture (idem 2015).

<sup>54</sup> Jäger 1996b.

members of the *sazendegan-ı hassa*.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, exceptional performance skills could override social norms and religious segregation, as we have seen in the case of Todoraki being integrated into the Muslim instrumental ensemble. In the same way, regardless of their inferior religious–legal status, non-Muslims were accepted as instrumental teachers by the highest members of the Muslim ruling class, most famously in the case of İsak, who is said to have been the *tanbur* teacher of Selim III.<sup>56</sup> Another of Selim III’s teachers, Hafız Ahmed Kamil Efendi (d. 1820), who was a member of the high *ulema*, was himself a student of both Corci and İsak.<sup>57</sup> Likewise, Cantemir claimed that he had ‘for Scholars in the Theory and Practice of Musick, *Daul Ismail Effendi*, first Treasurer of the Empire, and *Latif Chelebi* his *Haznadar*.’<sup>58</sup>

The significance of instrumental music for non-Muslim participation in the Ottoman secular tradition is further illustrated by the dual careers of non-Muslim musicians. Greek Orthodox and Armenian musicians learned their art by training as cantors, and were usually known as religious singers within their communities. Yet non-Muslims who were renowned as singers among their coreligionists were active mainly as instrumentalists in the secular Ottoman tradition. Thus, although Petros Peloponnēsios is regarded as one of the outstanding singers and composers of Greek Orthodox chant, his involvement in Ottoman court music appears to have revolved predominantly around the instrumental repertoire. This is indicated by the manuscript collections of secular music attributed to him (which, even if they are not autographs of Peloponnēsios, are presumably indicative of general trends amongst Greek Orthodox cantors), three of which are almost entirely devoted to the instrumental genres *peşrev* and *semai*, while one contains Phanariot songs.<sup>59</sup>

Similarly, Limōnčean’s musical career revolved, to a large extent, around churches and other religious institutions, in which vocal music was paramount. But although a large number of secular vocal pieces in Ottoman Turkish are attributed to Limōnčean in later sources, the fact that no such attributions appear in any document before the 1890s suggests that these may be apocryphal. However, the earliest manuscripts in Hampartsum notation – which are likely to be

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<sup>55</sup> Miron was paid a salary of 80 *kuruş*, while the most famous singer and composer of the era, İsmail Dede Efendi, was paid only 50 *kuruş* until 1809, when he became a gentleman-in-waiting (*musahib*). Kemani Miron was not, however, ‘the most highly paid musician of the court’, as Feldman writes (Feldman 1996, 131); the only musician consistently paid more than Kemani Miron was the *santur* player Hüseyin Ağa, who was paid a salary of 100 *kuruş* (Uzunçarşılı 1977, 103–8). Under Abdülmecid, Todoraki’s salary was 1100 *kuruş*, while Haşim Bey’s was 650 *kuruş*; the majority of the other musicians in the *sazendegan-ı hassa* received less than 100 *kuruş* (Toker 2016, 63–4).

<sup>56</sup> Uzunçarşılı 1977, 102.

<sup>57</sup> Tayyâr-zâde Atâ 2010, III, 37–8.

<sup>58</sup> Cantemir 1734–5, 151n14.

<sup>59</sup> Kalaitzidis 2012, 44–50.

autographs of Limōnčean – contain, like the collections attributed to Peloponnēsios, only instrumental *peşrevs* and *semais*.<sup>60</sup> Limōnčean is also known to have been a *tanbur* player, and anecdotal accounts of his skill in secular Ottoman music typically focus on instrumental music.<sup>61</sup>

In a similar way to Phanariot elites, *amira* families like the Tiwzeans emulated the Muslim ruling class in certain social habits, and this may well have extended to patronage of secular, Turkish-language musical performances. Yet it is noteworthy Mēnēvišean's late nineteenth-century account of their participation in music-making at the court of Selim III highlights the skill of Anton, Sergis and Mik'ayēl as performers of instrumental, rather than vocal, music.<sup>62</sup> Non-Muslim instrumentalists must presumably have played alongside Muslim singers in certain contexts, whether at court or in private gatherings. Indeed, this is indicated by iconographic evidence, such as a painting of a Turkish concert at the British Embassy in 1779, which depicts a group of 12 musicians, six of whom are Orthodox Greeks or Armenians (indicated by their tall black headgear).<sup>63</sup> However, the three singers in the group (who are holding *bendirs* or frame drums) are all Muslims (indicated by their turbans), while the non-Muslim musicians are all instrumentalists.

Instrumental music had a central place in the articulation of theoretical paradigms, and for this reason was a key element of Ottoman musical pedagogy. As it was more accessible than the courtly vocal tradition, non-Muslims were more likely to acquire expertise in secular Ottoman music by learning the instrumental repertoire of *peşrevs* and *semais*. As discussed in the previous chapter, Bžškean states that 'now most of our musicians learn music [by means of] the Turkish *peşrev*', while comments by Chrysanthos of Madytos on the pedagogical efficacy of the *tanbur* imply a similar situation existed amongst Orthodox Greek musicians.<sup>64</sup> Cantemir, of course, also stresses the centrality of the *tanbur* for learning the theory and practice of Ottoman music, which is borne out by the fact that his collection of notations includes only instrumental works.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> See TA110 and NE203. It is also worth noting Angeleay's remark that Limōnčean's notated manuscripts consisted of '380 *peşrevs* and *semais*' (Angeleay 1903, 91), i.e. with no mention of vocal music.

<sup>61</sup> See e.g. Hisarlean 1914, 12–13, 19–20.

<sup>62</sup> Mēnēvišean 1890, 20.

<sup>63</sup> The painting, entitled 'Concert turc donné au palais d'Angleterre à Constantinople le 22 février 1779' (by Major d'Otée), is now in the University of Warsaw Library (Royal Collection, T. 171, env. No. 647). It is reproduced in Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 29 (detail at *ibid*, 26). I am indebted to Giovanni De Zorzi for helping me to identify this painting.

<sup>64</sup> Bžškean 1997, 131; Chrysanthos of Madytos 2010, 49n4, 192–3.

<sup>65</sup> Kantemiroğlu, *Kitābu 'ilmi'l-mūsīkī*, p. 1.

The theoretical system of Ottoman music, then, was embodied in the language, conventions and techniques of instrumental practice, especially as it related to the *tanbur* and the repertoire of *peşrevs* and *semais*. Relatedly, the use of notation either in theoretical or in practical contexts (as these related to secular, rather than liturgical, music) was associated primarily with the instrumental Ottoman repertoire. Hence, Bžškean's examples of secular Ottoman music are all drawn from the instrumental repertoire, while in his discussion of musical form he devotes the most detailed attention to the instrumental *peşrev*, *semai* and *taksim*.<sup>66</sup> The interconnections between instrumental practice, theoretical discourse, pedagogy and the use of notation in the Ottoman tradition are an important factor in the social and historical processes that enabled knowledge of Hampartsum notation to be transmitted from Armenian to Muslim musicians in the nineteenth century. In the following section, I will explore how these areas of musical activity were interlinked in specific social settings, most importantly at the site of the Mevlevihane.

### 5.3. The Early Dissemination of Hampartsum Notation

Before the mid-nineteenth century, Armenian musicians were perhaps even more marginal at court than Greek Orthodox or Jewish musicians. Although Evliya Çelebi mentions three Armenian instrumentalists in the mid-seventeenth century and a composition by 'Ermeni Murad' is found in the Cantemir collection, no Armenian musicians are mentioned in court records before 1839.<sup>67</sup> Armenian musicians connected with the palace do occasionally appear in other sources: most notably, as mentioned in Chapter Four, Tanburi Arut'in served at the court of Mahmud I (r. 1730–54), while Toderini mentions the Armenian musicians Stephano (as yet unidentified) and Rafael (possibly the court painter Rafael Manas).<sup>68</sup> However, these names faded into obscurity in the following decades, and Armenian musicians did not achieve the renown of Jewish and Greek Orthodox instrumentalists such as Corci, Miron or İsak; it was only with the political and social changes of the mid-nineteenth century that Armenian

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<sup>66</sup> The *beste* and *şarkı* are described in a single sentence (Bžškean 1997, 132), while the *peşrev*, *semai* and *taksim* are given two individual paragraphs each (ibid, 132–4. For musical examples, see ibid, 158–64.

<sup>67</sup> Evliya Çelebi mentions two *dair*e players ('Ermeni Aydın ve Ermeni Hacıâtür') and a *tanbur* player ('Ermeni Āvinç') (Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Muhammed Zillî 1996, 303). The piece by Ermeni Murad is no. 154 in Wright's edition of the Cantemir collection (Wright 1992a).

<sup>68</sup> Toderini 1787, I, 240 (cf. Pamukciyan 2002–2003, IV, 298).

musicians began to gain more prominence as composers of popular urban music, as teachers at the palace school, and as virtuoso performers.<sup>69</sup>

As I argued in Chapter Two, there is no historical evidence for the claim that Limōnčean was directly patronised by the Selim III, and he was certainly not a ‘palace musician’ (he is not included among the few Armenian musicians who are mentioned by the court chronicler Tayyâr-zâde Atâ<sup>70</sup>). Even if Limōnčean did have occasional contact with the palace, perhaps through the agency of the Tiwzeans or another of his *amira* patrons, it was evidently not a significant feature of his musical career; still less did Bžškean’s activities revolve around the Ottoman court. Rather, the careers of Armenian musicians and intellectuals such as Limōnčean and Bžškean were shaped (before the mid-nineteenth century, and to a lesser extent until the early twentieth century) predominantly by communal institutions, most importantly the Church, the Mxit‘arist order and the educational and cultural patronage of the *amiras*.

Hampartsum notation was conceived primarily within this framework, and was intended above all for use in communal contexts such as churches and schools. However, contrary to the expectations of the reformers, the new notation system was initially met with resistance by the Armenian Church and by established cantors, and it was not until the late nineteenth century that it was officially adopted by the patriarchate. At the same time, the involvement of the reformers in secular Ottoman music and the pervasive influence of this tradition on musical practices amongst the Armenian *millet* meant that Hampartsum notation was used from the beginning to notate the Ottoman repertoire. Thus, what was originally regarded as a secondary function of Hampartsum notation – to record the secular Ottoman repertoire – became at least equally as important as its use in Armenian sacred music. This occurred not due the ‘modernising’ policies of the Ottoman state, but through the interaction of Armenian and Muslim musicians in urban sites of social and musical exchange, the most important of which was the Mevlevihane.

The Mevlevihane was the principal site at which the act of learning Ottoman music, oral and written traditions of music theory and contact between diverse elements of urban society converged. The Mevlevi order, of course, had close ties to the court, particularly during the reigns of Selim III and Mahmud II, who patronised Mevlevi institutions and actively

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<sup>69</sup> Cf. Jäger 2005.

<sup>70</sup> Tayyâr-zâde Atâ 2010, III, 110.

participated in Mevlevi music.<sup>71</sup> However, in a similar way to non-Muslims, Mevlevi musicians were often employed at the court only indirectly, and were more closely connected to the city ‘outside’ the palace. Toderini, for example, mentions ‘the dervishes of the Tekie’ not as part of the regular court ensemble, but as musicians who were invited to the palace on an informal basis.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, the Mevlevi musicians mentioned by Tayyazade Ata are described independently from the musicians who were part of the formal palace hierarchy.<sup>73</sup> The Mevlevihane thus provided a link between the elite and religiously homogeneous world of the court and the more diverse, urban environment of Istanbul.

At the same time, as Feldman has shown, Mevlevi musicians came to play a central role in the areas of instrumental performance and composition from the late seventeenth century onwards.<sup>74</sup> Mevlevis such as Nayi Osman Dede, Mustafa Kevseri and Abdülbaki Dede also made key contributions to the written tradition of music theory and the use of notation in Ottoman music. By the late eighteenth century, the Mevlevihane had become the most important institution outside the court for the transmission and performance of the Ottoman repertoire. While the patronage of Muslim and non-Muslim notables also provided an alternative space for performance and material support for musicians (possibly facilitating intercommunal musical exchanges), the Mevlevihane offered a more formal institutional basis for performing, teaching and debating music.

As Niebuhr reported in 1792, Mevlevi dervishes were ‘esteemed the best musicians among the Turks’<sup>75</sup>, while Adelburg (following a text by Antoine de Murat) describes in detail the importance of the Mevlevihane as a centre of musical activity:

On the great religious feast days (Mukabelé), every dervish receives in his room or cell visitors from outside. Musicians and amateurs gather all around to listen to music in the mosque [sic]. On such days any room resembles an ‘académie de musique’, an assembly of music experts. Here, newly composed musical works will be evaluated with critical rigour, the attending composer praised or criticised according to [the] merit [of his work], remarks made to him and aesthetic advice proffered, and his adherence to musical rules subjected to a meticulously critical examination; the old sonatas (Peschréf) will also be performed again and conflicting opinions about them brought into harmony. In another chamber, concerts will be performed in honour and for the pleasure of the attending guests; and again, in another part of the house, an aspiring composer is relieved of the

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<sup>71</sup> For contemporary accounts of the sultans’ attendance at Mevlevi ceremonies, see e.g. Sırkâtîbi Ahmed Efendi 1993, 241 and Hâfız Hızır İlyas Ağa 1987, 84–5. On Selim III’s artistic, literary and musical interests, see Renda 2013; Salgar 2013; Beşiroğlu 2010.

<sup>72</sup> Toderini 1787, I, 240.

<sup>73</sup> Tayyâr-zâde Atâ 2010, III, 254.

<sup>74</sup> Feldman 1996, 93–9.

<sup>75</sup> Niebuhr 1792, I, 132.

doubts that arise in him about certain rules of musical composition, while in another concert more masters compete to outdo each other in the demonstration of their virtuosic performance ability ... The cloister of these dervishes (Mevlevî-Hanê) is both the house of a religious brotherhood, and at the same time an aesthetic music society; because no musician is recognised as diligent in his work and as a master, who has not assiduously attended these gatherings at the dervish cloister, undergone rigorous examination by all the recognised masters there, and won from them the seal of masterly aptitude and application.<sup>76</sup>

Although the Mevlevi order was an Islamic institution, the heterodox philosophy of Sufism, the integration of the Mevlevihane into the surrounding urban environment and the performative nature of the Mevlevi ceremony (staged in a central hall that was designed to accommodate the general public) meant that it was frequently attended by non-Muslims.<sup>77</sup> This was often commented on by European visitors, who were themselves able to observe the Mevlevi *ayin* at first hand – indeed, the latter became a staple of European travel writing about the Ottoman Empire.<sup>78</sup> More significantly, there is evidence that local non-Muslims actively participated in the Mevlevi ceremony as instrumentalists. In the early nineteenth century, Charles MacFarlane wrote that ‘an Armenian with whom I was acquainted ... had a friend or relation a musician, that played in the orchestra of the Teckè [at Pera]’; he goes on to remark that ‘half the musicians in the gallery [of the *tekke*], who accompany the *Allah il Allahs* [sic], and the holy words of the Koran, are Armenians and Christians.’<sup>79</sup>

Stories of musicians such as Limōnčean and Peloponnēsios learning Ottoman music at the Mevlevihane, as related in Armenian and Greek sources from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, may therefore contain a large element of truth.<sup>80</sup> Given their marginality at court and their exclusion from other channels of learning (e.g. the palace *meşkhane* or other Islamic institutions) before the mid-nineteenth century, it may have been primarily through the Mevlevihane that non-Muslims such as Limōnčean and Peloponnēsios learned the art of *tanbur* playing as well as the theory of Ottoman music and the instrumental repertoire. The earliest Armeno-Turkish collections of Hampartsum notation contain (like those in Middle Byzantine notation attributed to Peloponnēsios) instrumental works by both Mevlevi composers and non-

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<sup>76</sup> Adelburg 1867, 74.

<sup>77</sup> Feldman 1996, 190–191, 502; Lifchez 1992, 106–111.

<sup>78</sup> See e.g. MacFarlane 1829, II, 402–8; Walsh 1836, II, 465.

<sup>79</sup> MacFarlane 1829, II, 416–7, 420–21.

<sup>80</sup> E.g. Angeleay 1903, 90; Hisarlean 1914, 13, 44; Papadopoulos 1890, 320–23 (cited in Plemmenos 2001, 113–4). Başer (2014) is thus correct in her general argument that Limōnčean was in contact with Mevlevi circles, but unfortunately makes several factual and logical errors when attempting to provide further historical details.

Mevlevi court musicians. Yet there were greater obstacles to non-Muslims learning Ottoman music at court than there were to their attendance of the Mevlevihane. This was especially so in the case of Galata Mevlevihane, which was situated at the heart of one of the major non-Muslim districts of Istanbul – where, as we have seen in previous chapters, Limōnčean and his patrons had numerous properties and social connections. It is therefore probable that Limōnčean learned both the Mevlevi and the courtly instrumental repertoire from Mevlevi musicians, some of whom were also employed at court, and who had a particular interest in preserving and transmitting the ‘old *peşrevs*’, as Adelburg reports.

If it is true that Limōnčean and other Armenian musicians learned Ottoman music at the Mevlevihane, the long-established (albeit sporadic) interest of the Mevlevi in notation and written theory also makes it likely that it was initially through them that Hampartsum notation came to be adopted by Muslim musicians more generally. This is supported by the fact that the earliest collections of Hampartsum notation written in Arabic script similarly contain only instrumental *peşrevs* and *semâs* (as well as *terennüms*, which were directly derived from the Mevlevi *ayin*), genres that were closely associated with Mevlevi composers, and which were central to the theory and pedagogy of Ottoman music as practiced at the Mevlevihane.<sup>81</sup>

The existence of collections of Hampartsum notation written in Arabic script demonstrates that knowledge of the system was transmitted from Armenian to Muslim musicians at some point. It is tempting to speculate that Limōnčean himself may have taught Hampartsum notation to non-Armenians, as implied by his statement that he had students ‘both from the [Armenian] nation, and from other nations’.<sup>82</sup> Later Armenian sources report that he demonstrated the efficacy of the system to Mevlevi musicians, and that this was met with approval.<sup>83</sup> It has also been claimed that Limōnčean’s autograph manuscripts were in the possession of the Mevlevi musician Nayi Ali Dede (d. 1829), which, as discussed in Chapter Four, Jäger takes as a possible indication of a close relationship between the two musicians.<sup>84</sup> Confirmation that Ali Dede owned manuscripts written in Hampartsum notation, or a secure dating of a collection in Arabic script to before 1839, would provide evidence that the notation method was adopted by Muslim musicians during Limōnčean’s lifetime. Going further, it might

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<sup>81</sup> See e.g. NE211, NE214, TA107, AM1357. See *infra* for further discussion of the dating and contents of these manuscripts.

<sup>82</sup> In Angeleay 1903, 80.

<sup>83</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 13, 44.

<sup>84</sup> Jäger 1996a, 267.



offer modest substantiation of the claim made by some scholars that Hampartsum notation was widespread amongst Ottoman musicians in the early nineteenth century.<sup>85</sup>

However, there are several reasons to doubt this. As I pointed out in the previous chapter, Ali Dede's seal does not appear on the two collections that are most likely to be autographs of Limōnčean, or indeed on any other available collection. Of course, such collections may exist in private hands, and Ezgi's statement that three of Limōnčean's autograph manuscripts were owned by Ali Dede might be thought sufficient to prove that Mevlevi musicians used Hampartsum notation before 1829.<sup>86</sup> But even if we discount the lack of concrete evidence to support Ezgi's statement (as well as the proliferation of mutually exclusive claims regarding the identity of Limōnčean's autograph manuscripts) it does not necessarily indicate that Hampartsum notation was widely used in the early nineteenth century, or even that it was generally adopted amongst Mevlevis.

Although Jäger speculates that there is a 'high probability' that Limōnčean gifted the manuscripts to Ali Dede as a token of personal respect, other evidence suggests that such objects were often exchanged for money.<sup>87</sup> According to Angeleay, who had access to Limōnčean's memoir and other documents in the possession of Onnik Šalčean (the son of Limōnčean's student Aristakēs Yovhannēsean),

The most part of [Limōnčean's] musical compositions [i.e. notated manuscripts], consisting of 380 *peşrevs* and *semâs*, was sold after the death of his son Neyzen Zenop to Hambarjum Č'ērč'iean [sic]; but they did not remain with him long, because they were [then] sold to Edhem Paşa for 25 piasters. Later, the Ottoman imperial music band bought them, but because European notation was being taught [at that time], they were considered unimportant and sold to the Egyptian Prince Halim Paşa for 50 piasters. A part of his works was conveyed to the Mxit'arist monastery in Venice by Father Minas Bžškean, while a small part also remained in the music schools [in Istanbul].<sup>88</sup>

Thus, collections of Hampartsum notation, like other music manuscripts, were bought and sold among wealthy Muslim music aficionados, in this case probably the Ottoman statesmen Edhem Paşa (ca. 1830–86) and Abdülhalim Paşa (1830–94), both of whom are

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<sup>85</sup> E.g. Jäger 1996c, 38; Ergur and Doğrusöz 2015, 158.

<sup>86</sup> Ezgi 1933–53, V, 530.

<sup>87</sup> Jäger 1996a, 267. Although he allows for the possibility, Jäger argues that it is 'not very likely' that Ali Dede bought the manuscripts, since such items were prohibitively expensive (ibid, 267n38–9). It should be remembered, however, that the Mevlevi order itself was a wealthy institution which enjoyed the patronage of the Ottoman court and other elites. This may go some way to explain Ali Dede's ownership of other rare music manuscripts, such as the Cantemir and Kevseri collections.

<sup>88</sup> Angeleay 1903, 91.

known to have amassed important music libraries.<sup>89</sup> If Ali Dede did acquire Limōnčean's manuscripts, it may therefore have been out of his interest as a collector, rather than being an indication that the notation system was adopted in practice by Mevlevi musicians at such an early date. Ali Dede was also the owner of the Cantemir and Kevseri collections, but this did not necessarily mean that Mevlevi musicians used this notation system to record or transmit the contemporary repertoire, or even that the contents of these manuscripts were performed.<sup>90</sup>

In any case, it seems unlikely that Limōnčean's personal effects would have come into the possession of Ali Dede – with whom there is no evidence that he was acquainted – more than ten years before the former's death in 1839. Indeed, according to the more plausible scenario described by Angeleay, Limōnčean's manuscripts were inherited by his son Zenop, who died in 1866, meaning that they did not begin to circulate amongst Muslim collectors and musicians until well into the second half of the nineteenth century. As I will show in the following chapter, this narrative fits better with the chronological distribution of the extant corpus of manuscripts in Hampartsum notation, which indicates that the system did not become widely used until the last decades of the century.

Nonetheless, it must be acknowledged that there exist several collections in Arabic script which appear to date from at least the middle of the nineteenth century. But while it is true that the general absence of rhythmic signs (characteristic of *gizli* or 'secret' Hampartsum notation) points towards a relatively early date, detailed analysis shows that these manuscripts cannot have been compiled before the 1840s. NE211, which Jäger suggests was written before 1820, includes an attribution to 'İmām-ı şehriyārī Muṣṭafā Efendi', who did not become head imam at the court of Abdülmecid until 1845.<sup>91</sup> NE214 contains fair copies of pieces in NE211

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<sup>89</sup> See Öztuna 1990, I, 15–16, 249–50. An autograph manuscript is reported by Suphi Ezgi to have been given by Limōnčean to the Tanzimat statesman Mustafa Reşid Paşa (1800–1858), apparently based on an oral testimony by the latter's grandson (see NE203, p. 18 and Ezgi 1933–53, V, 530). Jäger also describes four collections (NE205, NE207, NE208 and NE213) as belonging to the library of Reşid Paşa, but does not provide a source (Jäger 1996b, xxviii, xxxii, xxxiv, liv). However, the scribal conventions and musical content of NE205, NE207, NE208 and NE213 (all of which were probably compiled by Raşid Efendi, who was still alive in 1896) suggest that they cannot have been written before ca. 1860 (see Chapter Six for further details). There is also no other biographical evidence showing that Reşid Paşa had an interest in musical patronage, making the claims of Ezgi and Jäger difficult to support.

<sup>90</sup> The fact that the Cantemir and Kevseri collections contain older versions of dozens of pieces that were almost unrecognisably altered by the early nineteenth century is a strong indication that their contents were not performed during this period (see Wright 1988; Olley 2017). On the other hand, at least one or two individuals were evidently familiar with Cantemir's notation system in the mid-nineteenth century, since it was used to append a *peşrev* (incidentally one which existed in the same manuscript in its earlier version) to the Kevseri collection (Kevseri Muṣṭafā, [Untitled notation collection], ff. [180v–181r]; see also Wright 2007).

<sup>91</sup> NE211, p. 39. The piece appears early in the manuscript and is written by the original scribe. Cf. Jäger 2015, 40. In his earlier catalogue, Jäger dates the manuscript to 'the first half of the nineteenth century' (idem 1996b, xlv). His dating to before 1820 appears to stem from three mistaken assumptions: firstly, that NE211 is an

(possibly by the same scribe), and thus must have been compiled during the same period or later. AM1537 includes a reference to ‘merhūm [the late] Dede Efendi’, who died in 1846.<sup>92</sup> Lastly, TA107 contains attributions to the composers Osman Bey (1816–85) and Salim Bey (1829–85), indicating that it was written early in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>93</sup> Hence, of the four available examples of ‘early’ collections of Hampartsum notation compiled by Muslim (Mevlevi?) scribes, none can be shown to have been written before 1845.

In short, while it is possible that some individual Mevlevi musicians learned Hampartsum notation within Limōnčean’s lifetime, there is no evidence that it was widely known in Muslim music circles during the first half of the nineteenth century. If Ali Dede did indeed use Hampartsum notation (of which there is no reliable evidence), this would appear to be the sole example of a Muslim musician learning the system before the 1840s.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, initial interest in Hampartsum notation amongst Mevlevi or Muslim musicians did not necessarily stem from practical concerns, but may have been related more to established traditions of music–theoretical speculation and manuscript collection. Finally, the internal evidence of the existing collections indicates (ignoring the possibility that older specimens may exist in private libraries) that the earliest manuscripts in Arabic script were not compiled before ca. 1845 – that is, around three decades after the invention of the notation system.

If Hampartsum notation was adopted to only a limited degree by Mevlevi musicians before the late nineteenth century, there are indications that its use at court – far from being an integral part of the ‘western-inspired’ reform of music teaching, as is often assumed – was even more highly circumscribed. The idea that Hampartsum notation was well known at the Ottoman court in the early nineteenth century seems to be based on a fragment of notation attributed to Giuseppe Donizetti (1788–1856), who was employed to establish a European-style military band in 1828.<sup>95</sup> The fragment, which shows the signs of Hampartsum notation with their equivalent Italian note names, was first published in 1911 by ‘A. Bacolla’, who writes that it

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autograph of Limōnčean, secondly, that it was owned by Ali Dede, and thirdly, that Ali Dede died in around 1820. For Mustafa İzzet Efendi’s (1801–76) biography, see Öztuna 1990, II, 79–81.

<sup>92</sup> AM1537, p. 83. The manuscript also contains an attribution to ‘Necīb Beğ’ (p. 69), who attained the rank of *paşa* (*mirliva*) in 1855 (Öztuna 1990, II, 104), thus providing a likely *terminus ante quem*.

<sup>93</sup> A piece on p. 350 of the same source is attributed to ‘Yūsuf Beğ’, and so was presumably completed before he became a *paşa* (*mirliva*) in 1864 (Öztuna 1990, II, 503).

<sup>94</sup> There are scattered references to other notated collections either owned by Ali Dede or in his own hand (see e.g. AK56, p. 3; Ali Rifat et al 1934, p. 378), but it is unclear whether these concern manuscripts written in alpha-numeric notation or in Hampartsum notation. Hisarlean reports that Limōnčean demonstrated the efficacy of the latter method to a Mevlevi *şeyh* in the last years of his life (Hisarlean 1914, 44–5), which, as Kerovpyan and Yılmaz point out, implies that it was still not well known amongst Mevlevi in the 1830s (Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 96).

<sup>95</sup> See e.g. Gazimihal 1955, 43; Aracı 2006, 61–2; O’Connell 2010, 29; Tuğlacı 1986, 172; Aksoy 1985, 1229.

was in the possession of Donizetti's descendants.<sup>96</sup> Leaving aside Bacolla's garbled description of Hampartsum notation (which he conflates with the Arabic script) and the uncertain provenance of the fragment itself, he mentions only that Donizetti learned the notation system with the help of 'a Turkish musician' in order to help teach his students European staff notation.<sup>97</sup> In a slightly later, unpublished account by Donizetti's grandson, the informant is a 'Dervich musicien'.<sup>98</sup>

Yet MacFarlane, who heard the Imperial Band when he was in Istanbul in 1828, writes that '[an] old Italian charged with the instruction of one of the bands, told me ... that the Turks themselves did not have much aptitude for learning [European music], and that most of the musicians were Armenian rayahs.'<sup>99</sup> If Donizetti did learn Hampartsum notation, it therefore seems more likely that it was from one of his Armenian students, rather than from the Muslim pages who, according to both MacFarlane and Tayyârzade Ata, were subsequently drafted into the Imperial Band.<sup>100</sup> Since Donizetti remained in Istanbul until his death in 1856, the fragment may also have been written considerably later than 1828, in which case it is more plausible that his informant was a Mevlevi musician. Yet in any case, although European staff notation was certainly used for teaching western-style music at court from 1828 onwards, there is no evidence that either staff notation or Hampartsum notation were generally adopted by Ottoman court musicians outside of this specific context. On the contrary, there are a number of indications that Ottoman music continued to be transmitted orally at court well into the second half of the nineteenth century.

Tayyârzade Ata relates that 'when I was an apprentice at the Imperial Palace in [12]41 [1825–6], music was still taught in the *meşkhane* according to the old methods' – that is, without notation.<sup>101</sup> In the same year, Hızır İlyas Ağa observed that when the Dutch ambassador presented Mahmud II with 'a snuff box ornamented with a clock that plays music, because the musicians of the time did not know notation, they could not grasp its melodies'.<sup>102</sup> Around

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<sup>96</sup> Bacolla 1911.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 80. The generally unreliable nature of Bacolla's text, and the indiscriminate use of such terms in non-specialist European writing of the period, means that his reference to a 'Turkish' musician carries little historical weight with regards to the ethnic identity of Donizetti's informant.

<sup>98</sup> Donizetti 1917, 20. A copy of this text was generously provided to me by Emre Aracı.

<sup>99</sup> MacFarlane 1829, II, 172–3.

<sup>100</sup> MacFarlane writes that 'The sultan afterwards placed a few of the younger ichoglans or pages, under the maestro's [sic] instructions, and these were making some progress when I left Stamboul' (Macfarlane 1829, II, 173). The names of the Muslim courtiers who were employed in the Imperial Band are provided in Tayyâr-zâde Atâ 2010, 149–50. Cf. Aksoy 2003, 206–8; Sevengil 1959–62, II, 54–7; Gazimihal 1955, 45–6.

<sup>101</sup> Tayyâr-zâde Atâ 2010, III, 253.

<sup>102</sup> Hâfiz Hızır İlyas Ağa 2011, 395.

1834, the courtier Süleyman Faik Efendi observed that ‘the science of music consists in imitating [the teacher] by listening face-to-face’, making no mention of notation.<sup>103</sup> According to Leyla Saz Hanım, who grew up at the palace during the reign of Abdülmecid (1839–61) and was taught by well-known court musicians of the period, ‘Western music was taught with notes and Turkish music without them; as had always been the custom, Turkish music was learned by ear alone.’<sup>104</sup> Hacı Arif Bey (1831–85), one of Leyla Hanım’s teachers and probably the most celebrated musician of the mid-nineteenth century, did not know notation.<sup>105</sup>

Hacı Emin Efendi also relates that although staff notation was introduced to the court during the time of Mahmud II, it was only used within the Imperial Band (*mūsīka-yı hümayūn*), and teachers of Ottoman music continued to transmit the repertoire ‘in the Turkish manner’, i.e. orally.<sup>106</sup> Similarly, although some of Limōnčean’s manuscripts were purchased by the Imperial Band (probably in the 1870s), according to Angeleay, ‘because European notation was being taught [at that time], they were considered unimportant’.<sup>107</sup> Thus, notation in general was associated with European music rather than Ottoman music, and Hampartsum notation was not widely or systematically used at court.

On the other hand, Mevlevi musicians who were also employed at the palace may have formed an exception to this. According to Takiyüddin Mehmed Emin Ali, the Mevlevi musician Salih Dede (d. 1886), who belonged to the palace instrumental ensemble in the 1860s and 1870s, knew both staff notation and Hampartsum (*alaturka*) notation.<sup>108</sup> Similarly, another *neyzen* (probably also a Mevlevi) who was employed in the *musika-yı hümayun*, Raşid Efendi (d. after 1896), compiled several collections of Hampartsum notation in the period ca. 1860–90.<sup>109</sup> If the notation system was used at court at all, it was therefore likely to have been introduced either by Armenians employed in the *musika-yı hümayun*, or by Mevlevi musicians

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<sup>103</sup> Süleymān Fā’ik, *Mecmū’a*, f. 92v.

<sup>104</sup> Leyla (Saz) Hanımefendi 2001, 54.

<sup>105</sup> İnal 1958, 69.

<sup>106</sup> Hacı Emīn 1302/1885, 10–11.

<sup>107</sup> Angeleay 1903, 91.

<sup>108</sup> Takīyü’-d-Dīn Mehmed Emīn Ālī, *Mūsīka-yı hümayūn tārīhi*, f. 99v. Cf. Toker 2016, 220. See also Gazimihal 1955, 55, who mentions that Salih Dede was known as ‘nota muallimi’ (‘notation teacher’).

<sup>109</sup> Raşid Efendi is said to have been a student of the Armenian Tanburi Oskıyan (d. 1870?), and may have learned Hampartsum notation from him (Özalp 1986, I, 253), although there is no primary evidence to support this. While Özalp writes that he was recruited to the *musika-yı hümayun* at a young age, the fact that he is not mentioned anywhere in the available archives relating to court musicians (see Toker 2016; Uzunçarşılı 1977), nor in Tayyazade’s chronicle (Tayyâr-zâde Atâ 2010), suggests that he was employed either informally, or much later in the nineteenth century. According to the testimony of Veli Kanık (1881–1953) he was active in the *musika-yı hümayun* in 1896 (see Cemil 2002, 114), meaning that he died after this date. Cf. Öztuna 1990, II, 217, who gives the date of his death as ‘1892?’. See the following chapter for further discussion of Raşid Efendi’s notation collections.

such as Salih Dede or Raşid Efendi. However, as the above comments show, most palace musicians continued to use oral methods of transmission outside the context of the Imperial Band, which in any case employed staff notation. The historical trajectory of Hampartsum notation, then, was the opposite of what is assumed in most of the existing literature: it was not developed through the impetus of the Ottoman court by Armenian musicians who were directly influenced by Mevlevi notational practices; rather, it was initially developed within the Armenian community, later adopted by Mevlevi musicians, and may eventually been introduced to the court through the agency of one of these groups.

To sum up the preceding arguments: from the seventeenth century onwards, Ottoman music developed not only within the confines of the court, but also through interaction with the wider urban environment of Istanbul. As previous scholarship has shown, this was linked to a process of diversification in the social backgrounds of Ottoman musicians, so that religious functionaries, bureaucrats and artisans came to achieve prominence alongside professional court musicians. However, a more detailed analysis of the available sources shows that although a small number of non-Muslim musicians were employed as performers and teachers at the imperial palace from the late seventeenth century onwards, for linguistic, social and political reasons they remained marginal at court and in the field of secular vocal music until the mid-nineteenth century.

After the beginning of the Tanzimat, non-Muslims were employed in larger numbers at court and achieved greater prominence in secular vocal music, a development which was linked to the vernacularisation of the Ottoman Turkish repertoire. At the same time, as scholarship in other fields has also shown, a degree of social segregation between Muslims and non-Muslims persisted into the later nineteenth century, even after certain legal and political obstacles had been removed. This suggests that the musical activities of Ottoman non-Muslims, on the whole, continued to revolve around communal institutions (including the church or synagogue as well as the patronage networks of groups such as the Phanariots and *amiras*) rather than the Ottoman court and the social spaces associated with the Muslim ruling elite.

In contrast to their marginality at court and in the realm of Ottoman Turkish vocal music, non-Muslim musicians were prominent in the realms of instrumental music, theory and notation. These were also areas in which Mevlevi musicians excelled, and it was primarily through the Mevlevihane, rather than the court, that Muslim and non-Muslim musicians came into regular contact. Hampartsum notation was adopted by a limited number of Mevlevi musicians in the mid-nineteenth century (probably beginning in the 1840s), and may have been

introduced to the palace through them in the following decades. However, Hampartsum notation was not used systematically in the transmission of Ottoman music at court, and knowledge of the system was not widespread among Muslim musicians before the second half of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, the adoption of a technology cultivated within a marginal community by members of the dominant social group itself testifies to the importance of non-Muslims in late Ottoman musical life, despite their statistical underrepresentation. In the following chapter, I will investigate in more detail the use of Hampartsum notation amongst Muslim and non-Muslim musicians during the mid to late nineteenth century through a survey of the available corpus of manuscript collections. This will illustrate from a statistical and analytical perspective interactions between different areas of Ottoman music-making and between diverse social groups.

## 6. The Collections

Following the invention of Hampartsum notation in the early nineteenth century, it was used amongst a small circle of Armenians, and adopted by some Mevlevi musicians towards the middle of the century. After 1850, the notation method became gradually more widespread amongst both Armenian and Muslim musicians, reaching a peak in the final decades of the nineteenth century. In the present chapter, I will analyse the use of the notation system from a statistical perspective, providing an overview of the available manuscripts of Ottoman music written in Hampartsum notation. The analysis focuses on the chronology of the corpus, as well as the musical genres notated in the collections and the background of the scribes who wrote them. In this way, the chapter provides a statistical basis for discussing the impact of Hampartsum notation on late Ottoman musical life, particularly in terms of the relationship between musical genres, the use of notation and confessional identity. In addition, the manuscripts supply information about the various uses of Hampartsum notation in the contexts of performance, teaching and textual encoding. While some aspects of the corpus point towards the ‘textualisation’ of musical repertoire, other features demonstrate the interplay between written and oral modes of transmission, suggesting that the adoption of Hampartsum notation did not effect a straightforward transition from an ‘oral’ to a ‘literate’ musical tradition. The wider cultural and intellectual environment in which Hampartsum notation was utilised in the second half of the nineteenth century, and its interaction with existing oral and literate practices, is the subject of Chapter Seven.

### 6.1. Overview

There are at least 36 extant collections of Ottoman music written in Hampartsum notation held in public libraries, the vast majority of which are in Istanbul.<sup>1</sup> In addition, at least 15 manuscripts containing secular Ottoman music are found in the archive of Surp Takavor Armenian Church in Istanbul, and there are likely to be further manuscripts housed in the many Armenian churches throughout the city. During field research, I was generously given two collections of Ottoman music in Hampartsum notation by the Armenian cantor Nişan

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<sup>1</sup> See bibliography for a full list of abbreviations, locations and signatures.



Çalgıcıyan. Other collections have been documented in the secondary literature but are generally not available to researchers: the library of San Lazzaro houses at least one manuscript<sup>2</sup>, while an example from another manuscript belonging to Murat Bardakçı has been published by Popescu-Judetiz.<sup>3</sup> Further references to currently inaccessible manuscripts held by both individuals and institutions suggest that there are many more collections in private libraries.<sup>4</sup> While it is impossible to determine the number of manuscripts in such archives, it can be estimated that there may be as many as 150 extant collections of Ottoman music written in Hampartsum notation in total, of which 36 are held in public institutions and are readily accessible.

Table 1 presents a list of 69 Hampartsum collections, including 36 held in public libraries, 15 found in the archive of Surp Takavor Armenian Church, 13 from the collection of Ali Rifat Çağatay, two manuscripts given to the present author by Nişan Çalgıcıyan and one manuscript described in Jäger's catalogue but now missing from İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi.<sup>5</sup> The table provides information about the approximate date of the manuscripts, the use of Arabic or Armenian script, and whether they contain vocal or instrumental music. While the dates of individual manuscripts can be modified based on more detailed future research, I have attempted here to define four broad chronological bands, which are intended as an approximate guide rather than strictly defined cut-off points.<sup>6</sup> It should also be noted that many collections contain emendations and additions by later hands; the dating given here is based on the earliest hand. Due to the large amount of material, no indication is given of the dates of individual manuscripts within these bands (the sources are ordered alphabetically within each chronological group).

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<sup>2</sup> See Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 167–71.

<sup>3</sup> Popescu-Judetiz 2002, 160.

<sup>4</sup> An example from the reportedly extensive archive of Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu (TRT) is reproduced in *ibid*, 161. Another privately owned collection is discussed in Erguner 2016. The descendants of Rauf Yekta Bey (1871–1935) also own a number of important collections (Nilgün Doğrusöz-Dişiaçık, personal communication). Large collections of loose sheets such as those in the archives of Kemal Batanay (now housed at İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, İstanbul) and Sadettin Arel (in the İstanbul Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Kütüphanesi) have not been included in this study.

<sup>5</sup> NE212. See Jäger 1996b, xlix–lii. I am indebted to Nilgün Doğrusöz-Dişiaçık and Salih Demirtaş for providing detailed information about the contents of AR1–13.

<sup>6</sup> Of course, some collections may have been compiled across the span of two chronological bands, as in the case of TA108, which was written between 1876 and 1886. In this case, the classification in Table 1 is based on the date of completion.

**Table 1: List of manuscripts in Hampartsum notation**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Collection</b>	<b>Script</b>	<b>Vocal/instrumental</b>
<i>Before 1840</i>	NE203	Armenian	Instrumental
	TA110	Armenian	Instrumental
<i>1840–1860</i>	AM1537	Arabic	Instrumental
	NE211	Arabic	Instrumental
	NE214	Arabic	Instrumental
	ST1	Armenian	Instrumental
	TA107	Arabic	Instrumental
<i>1860–1880</i>	CK1	Arabic	Instrumental
	M355	Arabic	Instrumental
	NE205	Arabic	Instrumental
	NE207	Arabic	Instrumental
	NE208	Arabic	Vocal
	NE212	Arabic	Instrumental
	NE213	Arabic	Instrumental
	NE215	Arabic	Instrumental
	NE216	Arabic	Instrumental
	NE217	Arabic	Instrumental
	NE218a	Arabic	Instrumental
	ST2	Armenian	Instrumental
<i>After 1880</i>	AK56	Arabic	Instrumental
	AK86	Arabic	Vocal
	AR1	Armenian	Vocal
	AR2	Armenian	Vocal
	AR3	Armenian	Vocal
	AR4	Armenian	Vocal
	AR5	Armenian	Vocal
	AR6	Armenian	Vocal
	AR7	Armenian	Vocal
	AR8	Arabic	Vocal
	AR9	Arabic	Vocal
	AR10	Arabic	Vocal
	AR11	Arabic	Vocal
	AR12	Arabic	Vocal
	AR13	Arabic	Vocal
	CK2	Arabic	Vocal
	CK3	Arabic	Vocal
	CK4	Armenian	Vocal
	CK5	Armenian	Vocal
	M4994	Arabic	Vocal
	M4995	Arabic	Vocal
	M4996	Arabic	Vocal
	M18317	Arabic	Instrumental
	MU3	Arabic	Instrumental

MU4	Armenian	Vocal
NÇ1	Armenian	Instrumental
NÇ2	Armenian	Vocal
NE204	Arabic	Vocal
NE206	Armenian	Vocal
NE209	Armenian	Vocal
NE210	Armenian	Vocal
NE218b	Arabic	Instrumental
S122	Arabic	Vocal
S6733	Arabic	Instrumental
S6738	Arabic	Instrumental
ST3	Armenian	Vocal
ST4	Armenian	Vocal
ST5	Armenian	Vocal
ST6	Armenian	Vocal
ST7	Armenian	Vocal
ST8	Armenian	Vocal
ST9	Armenian	Vocal
ST10	Armenian	Vocal
ST11	Armenian	Vocal
ST12	Armenian	Vocal
ST13	Armenian	Vocal
ST14	Armenian	Vocal
ST15	Armenian	Vocal
TA108	Arabic	Instrumental
TA109	Arabic	Instrumental

While a detailed discussion of the date of every manuscript is beyond the scope of this thesis, a few remarks about dating methodology and the general characteristics of each chronological group will be useful for the discussion that follows. In all cases, the primary criterion for dating is the repertoire included in the manuscripts, meaning that estimates are based on biographical information relating to identifiable composers. However, physical characteristics, orthographic features, aspects of musical style (including degree of melodic density as well as the presence or absence of particular *makams* and pitch symbols) and information about provenance are also important indicators of chronology.

The two collections from before 1840 are assumed to be autographs of Hambarjum Limōnčean (d. 1839), and represent the earliest form of the notation system as described by Bžškean.<sup>7</sup> The manuscripts assigned to the period 1840–60 also use a form of *gizli* or ‘secret’

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<sup>7</sup> The detailed argumentation necessary to substantiate this claim is beyond the scope of the present thesis, and will be presented in a forthcoming publication. For musical analyses of the contents of NE203, see Olley 2018, 2017. Critical editions of both NE203 and TA110 will be published by the present author as part of the Corpus Musicae Ottomanicae project: see <https://www.uni-muenster.de/CMO-Edition/en/publikationen/publikationen.html> (accessed 27 January 2018).

notation (using few durational signs), but display differences in their range of pitch symbols and melodic modes, as well as in musical style. As discussed in the previous chapter, the manuscripts in this group can be dated relatively accurately on the basis of composer biographies.<sup>8</sup>

The systematic use of precise durational signs probably did not become widely accepted long before 1869, which is when they first appear in a securely dateable manuscript (ST2), and the ‘secret’ system was evidently still in use in the 1850s. It is therefore assumed that manuscripts that systematically provide exact durational values cannot have been written before ca. 1860. The sources assigned to the period 1860–80 use precise durational signs, but show similarities with earlier collections in terms of pitch symbols, musical content and other orthographic features. Biographical information about the composers included in these manuscripts also provides some indication of chronological boundaries.<sup>9</sup> The manuscripts compiled after ca. 1880 are easily identified by their musical content, which is drawn mainly from the contemporary late nineteenth-century repertoire.<sup>10</sup>

Based on the information given in Table 1, a few general conclusions can be drawn about the use of Hampartsum notation during the nineteenth century. Firstly, the low total volume of manuscripts suggest that Hampartsum notation was used by only a small minority of Ottoman musicians, particularly before 1880. In the 65-year period between 1815 and 1880 only 9 different scribes can be identified from a total of 19 available manuscripts. At a conservative estimate, the number of active performers of the repertoire represented in the collections during the same period may amount to, say, 200 individuals. Even with the addition of collections in private libraries or those no longer extant, this suggests that not more than around 10% of the musical community used the notation system before 1880.

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<sup>8</sup> See Chapter Five for the dating of AM1537, NE211, NE214 and TA107. ST1 is closely related to NE203 and TA110 in terms of content and orthography, but cannot have been written before ca. 1845, since it includes a composition by Hambarjūm Čerčean (Tr. Hamparsum Çerçıyan, b. 1828), referred to as ‘Giwč’iwg usta H[a]mb[ar]j[ar]j[u]mn [sic] Č’erčizatē’ (ST1, p. 108).

<sup>9</sup> ST2 is dated 1285, i.e. 1869–70. CK1 and M355 both contain attributions to ‘Yūsuf Paşa’ and so must have been completed after 1864. NE208 includes an attribution to ‘Hünkār İmāmı ‘Alī Efendi’ (pp. 95–6), who attained this post in 1867 (Öztuna 1990, I, 46). The remaining collections in this group are in the same hand as NE208, probably that of Raşid Efendi, who was alive in 1896. Composer attributions, orthographic similarities with manuscripts having a secure *terminus post quem*, and the fact that they provide detailed durational signs all indicate that they were completed after 1860. However, while the repertoire included in this group of manuscripts as well as physical characteristics (i.e. paper, ink and handwriting styles) suggest that they were written before ca. 1880, it cannot be excluded that they were completed after this date.

<sup>10</sup> AK56 contains early repertoire, but this is copied from older sources. A note on f. 14v indicates that it was copied from a collection belonging to Suphi Ezgi (1869–1962), probably in the early twentieth century.

For the 45-year period between 1880 and 1925, when the number of amateur musicians probably also increased, the increase in available manuscripts suggests that the figure may have risen to perhaps 20–25% – though by this date many musicians were also familiar with staff notation. Nonetheless, the chronological distribution of the manuscripts shows that Hampartsum notation became more prevalent towards the end of the century: there are only two surviving collections from the early nineteenth century, while 62 collections (90%) were compiled after ca. 1860, and 50 collections (72%) after ca. 1880. Even taking into account the greater likelihood of loss for older collections, this still indicates a significant increase in the use of the notation system in the last decades of the century.

Secondly, in the context of secular Ottoman music, Hampartsum notation appears to have been used almost exclusively to notate the instrumental repertoire before ca. 1880.<sup>11</sup> While Armenian musicians certainly used Hampartsum notation to write down sacred vocal music before the late nineteenth century, their marginality as performers or composers of secular song in Ottoman Turkish is illustrated by the absence of early manuscripts containing this repertoire.<sup>12</sup> Conversely, collections such as NE203, TA110 and ST1 highlight the involvement of Armenian musicians in Ottoman instrumental music during the early nineteenth century. In addition, as I will show in more detail below, several of the instrumental collections in Arabic script show evidence of having been compiled by Mevlevi musicians, reflecting the connections between instrumental music, pedagogy and notation that were cultivated especially within the context of the Mevlevihane (see Chapter Five).

The absence of notated vocal music before the late nineteenth century (excepting publications in Chrysanthine notation) also indicates, as Cem Behar has argued, that there was a greater practical need to notate the instrumental repertoire.<sup>13</sup> Instrumentalists did not have the mnemonic advantage of being able to link melody and rhythm with verbal content, making the instrumental repertoire more difficult to memorise. Moreover, as Behar points out, vocalists had long had recourse to song-text collections as *aides-mémoire*, which continued to be used

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<sup>11</sup> Collections marked ‘vocal’ in Table 1 contain exclusively or predominantly vocal pieces, while those marked ‘instrumental’ contain only instrumental repertoire.

<sup>12</sup> Hampartsum notation was presumably used by Limōnčean himself as well as his students to notate the music of the Armenian liturgy, although few examples of manuscripts of this type survive (or are available to researchers) from before the late nineteenth century. A manuscript containing a partial transcription of the Armenian hymnal, probably dating from the first half of the nineteenth century, is discussed in Utidjian 2016, 25. See also Hisarlean 1914, 60. A page from a private collection with lyrics in Armeno-Turkish, which (based on notational characteristics) appears to date from the middle of the nineteenth century, is reproduced on the cover of Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010. Cf. *ibid.*, 100–101.

<sup>13</sup> Behar 1992, 21.

throughout the nineteenth century, making the use of notation superfluous.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, the sharp increase in notated vocal collections after ca. 1880 (when they make up 82% of the total) suggests a connection between changing musical practices and larger developments in Ottoman urban society (see below).

This leads us to the third general conclusion that can be drawn from Table 1, which concerns the proportion of Armenian scribes within the corpus. Of 69 manuscripts, 32 use the Armenian script, while TA108, although mainly in Arabic script, also includes headings in Armenian script in the same hand, indicating that it was written by an Armenian scribe.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, AK86, AR8–13, M4994, M4995, M4996, M18317 and TA109 display features which suggest that they were also compiled by Armenian scribes.<sup>16</sup> These cases point, incidentally, to the more common use of the Arabic script amongst Armenians in the last decades of the nineteenth century as a result of changes in patterns of Ottoman literacy (see Chapter Seven.) Thus, although Armenians made up only a quarter or less of the population of Istanbul in the nineteenth century, the total number of manuscripts written by Armenian scribes is 45 out of 69, or 65%. Indeed, this figure should be taken as a minimum, since other collections in Arabic script may also have been compiled by Armenian scribes. As might be expected, then, in overall terms Hampartsum notation was closely associated with Armenian musicians.

Yet it is also noteworthy that the vast majority (15 out of 17, or 88%) of collections compiled during the mid-nineteenth century (ca. 1840–80) were written by Muslim scribes. By comparison, after ca. 1880, 41 out of 50 (82%) were written by Armenian scribes. Of course, the collections listed in Table 1 cannot be fully representative of the entire corpus of manuscripts in Hampartsum notation. It is highly unlikely, for example, that the notation system was transmitted between different generations of Armenian musicians from 1840 until the 1880s through the medium of only two manuscripts (ST1 and ST2). Armenian musicians must therefore have used Hampartsum notation in greater numbers before 1880 than is suggested by Table 1, and such collections (if they were not lost or destroyed) may well exist in private archives or libraries outside Turkey. Indeed, several early or mid-nineteenth-century collections

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 20–26.

<sup>15</sup> TA108, p. 85a ff. (printed numbering).

<sup>16</sup> The most obvious sign is the use of the Armenian letter *ken* (կ; for *krknum*, *krknut'iw*n etc.) to indicate repetition (normally indicated by Muslim scribes with an abstract sign or with the Arabic letter *mim*, for *mükerrer*). Other indicators include orthographic mistakes in the Arabic script which reflect spoken rather than written norms (e.g. \**evīç* for *evc*), and the vertical placement of the double colon to indicate the end of a rhythmic cycle. The latter convention is derived from the norms of the Armenian script (i.e. it is a doubling of the colon used to mark the end of a sentence), and is therefore always used by Armenian scribes. Muslim scribes instead tend to place the double colon at a 45-degree angle.

in Armenian script are mentioned in the secondary literature, while some of the collections in Table 1 show evidence of having been copied from manuscripts that are no longer available.<sup>17</sup> It should also be noted that although a comparatively large number of manuscripts were written by Muslim musicians between 1840 and 1880, they were compiled by only six individual scribes.

Nonetheless, Table 1 suggests a broad correlation between chronological distribution, musical content and the confessional background of the compilers. Of the 42 collections of vocal music, 36 (or 86%) were written by Armenian scribes, while only 8 out of 27 collections of instrumental music (29%) were written by Armenians. Alternatively stated, of the 24 collections written by Muslim scribes, 19 (or 79%) contain only instrumental music, while the equivalent figure for Armenian scribes is 8 out of 45 (18%). Thus, in general, Armenian scribes were more likely to write down vocal music, while Muslim scribes mostly recorded instrumental repertoire. Furthermore, as already mentioned, collections of vocal music (with the exception of NE208) were not written before 1880, meaning that collections of instrumental music written by Muslim scribes constitute 74% of the corpus (14 out of 19) before this date. Conversely, after 1880, collections of vocal music written by Armenian scribes predominate, making up 74% of the total (37 out of 50).

The correlations between scribal background, date and musical content suggest that the manuscript collections reflect broader processes of musical and social change during the nineteenth century. In particular, the increasing use of Hampartsum notation by Armenians to record secular vocal music points towards broader trends in the composition and performance of Ottoman–Turkish repertoire that have already been outlined in Chapter Five. Whereas in earlier periods the courtly vocal repertoire was closely associated with the Muslim ruling class and thus largely inaccessible to non-Muslims, the social and institutional transformations brought about by the Tanzimat contributed to their increased participation in Turkish-language vocal music in the second half of the nineteenth century. At the same time, the vernacularisation of Ottoman Turkish and the commercialisation of urban musical life contributed to the increased visibility of popular song forms, especially the *şarkı*. These developments can be

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<sup>17</sup> See Popescu-Judetiz 2002, 160 and Kerovpyan and Yilmaz 2010, 167–71 for examples of such collections. Suphi Ezgi mentions at least four collections in Armenian script that were either destroyed or are now in private libraries (Ezgi 1933–53, I, 4; *ibid*, V, 530). Some pieces in AM1537 (e.g. pp. 32–4) were copied from an Armenian manuscript (indicated by the use of the letter *ken*) that cannot be identified with any of the collections in Table 1, and must therefore be lost or in private hands.

illustrated in more detail through an analysis of the musical genres included in the corpus of manuscripts in Hampartsum notation and their association with different social groups.

## 6.2. Musical Genres and Scribal Background

The most significant development in Ottoman vocal music during the nineteenth century was the rise of the *şarkı*. Although mentioned by Cantemir at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it did not form part of the vocal suite (*faşl-ı hānende*), and made up only a small proportion of items in song-text collections before the nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup> In Hafız Post's seventeenth-century anthology, for example, *şarkıs* constitute only 6% of the repertoire.<sup>19</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the *şarkı* had become the most widely composed and recorded song form, attested by both song-text anthologies (printed and manuscript) and notated sources.<sup>20</sup> Table 2 shows the distribution of pieces according to vocal genre (where this information is available) within the corpus of manuscripts in Hampartsum notation.<sup>21</sup> Collections written by Armenian scribes are indicated in the first column with (Arm.). As the bottom row of the table shows, *şarkıs* make up 50% of the entire corpus of vocal pieces. Although a complete list of the contents of ST3–15 is unavailable, these collections contain mainly *şarkıs*, meaning that this percentage would be considerably higher if these were also included in Table 2. The only pre-1880 collection, NE208, contains no *şarkıs*. The increase in the use of Hampartsum notation, then, occurred in parallel with an increase in the popularity of the *şarkı* during the last decades of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>18</sup> Kantemiroğlu, *Kitāb-ı 'ilmi'l-mūsikī*, p. 103. Cf. Jäger 1996a, 113–8.

<sup>19</sup> That is, 32 out of 540 labelled items (see Wright 1992b, 158). Among the other song-text collections catalogued by Wright, *şarkıs* predominate in most of the manuscripts dated to the nineteenth century (ibid, 288–92).

<sup>20</sup> On the basis of printed song collections in Karamanlidika, which appear from 1830 onwards, Kappler suggests that the *şarkı* had become a central part of the Ottoman repertoire by the early nineteenth century (Kappler 2002, 48; cf. Jäger 1996a, 115–6).

<sup>21</sup> S122 and AR13 are both devoted to the music of the Mevlevi *ayin* and are not included in the following analyses, which are focused on secular genres. Sub-types or alternative designations of the *beste* (including *murabba* and *nakiş*) are subsumed into the column 'beste'. 'Semai' includes the sub-types *ağır*, *yürük* and *nakiş*. ST3–15 were not available for detailed analysis.



**Table 2: Vocal genres in collections of Hampartsum notation**

	<i>Kar</i>	<i>Beste</i>	<i>Semai</i>	<i>Şarkı</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
NE208	2	30	18			50
AR1 (Arm.)	14					14
AR2 (Arm.)		21	18			39
AR3 (Arm.)		17	10			27
AR4 (Arm.)	1	17	15			33
AR5 (Arm.)		22	12	1	1	36
AR6 (Arm.)		10	12			22
AR7 (Arm.)	1	8	2	1		12
AR8 (Arm.)	11	95	49			155
AR9 (Arm.)		17	6	1		24
AR10 (Arm.)				15	2	17
AR11 (Arm.)		16	9	1		26
AR12 (Arm.)		16	10			26
AK86 (Arm.)		14	5	209	3	231
CK2				39		39
CK3		9	12	74		95
M4994 (Arm.)		6	4	42	5	57
M4995 (Arm.)		2	5	45	6	58
M4996 (Arm.)		2	2	29		33
MU4 (Arm.)		7	2	70		79
NÇ2 (Arm.)				28	2	30
NE204	9	52	57			118
NE206 (Arm.)		1	2	82		85
NE209 (Arm.)	2	48	46	20	1	117
NE210 (Arm.)		15	8	122		145
All	40 (3%)	425 (27%)	304 (19%)	779 (50%)	20 (1%)	1,568

**Table 3: Vocal genres according to origin of scribes**

	<i>Kar</i>	<i>Beste</i>	<i>Semai</i>	<i>Şarkı</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
Armenian	29 (2%)	334 (26%)	217 (17%)	666 (53%)	20 (2%)	1,266
Muslim	11 (4%)	91 (30%)	87 (29%)	113 (37%)		302

As mentioned above, Armenian scribes were more likely to notate vocal repertoire than Muslim scribes. Of the total available corpus of 1,568 vocal pieces, 1,266 (81%) were notated by Armenian scribes (see Table 3). In addition, *şarkıs* make up the largest proportion of vocal

pieces notated by Armenians (53% as against 37% for Muslim scribes), whereas Muslim scribes were more likely to notate older vocal genres including the *kar*, *beste* and *semai*. Again, this percentage would be significantly higher if the contents of ST3–15 (all of which are collections of mainly *şarkis* compiled by Armenian scribes) were included. To a certain extent, this confirms the argument that the elite, courtly repertoire was cultivated mainly by Muslim musicians, while the more vernacular *şarkı* was more closely associated with non-Muslims. However, connections between vocal genre and scribal origin are indicative of broad trends rather than strict correlations. While two out of four collections in Table 2 compiled by Muslim scribes (NE208 and NE204) contain almost exclusively older courtly genres, CK2 and CK3 contain a high proportion of *şarkis*. Conversely, there are seven collections compiled by Armenian scribes that contain no *şarkis* at all (AR1–4, AR6, AR8, AR12), and four more with only one *şarkı* each (AR5, AR7, AR9, AR11).

The fact that the latter collections were all compiled after 1880 suggests that Armenian musicians had greater access to the courtly repertoire in the late nineteenth century relative to earlier periods, which would be consistent with the increasing social integration of Muslim and non-Muslim musicians discussed in the previous chapter. On the other hand, the preference for notating older genres amongst some Armenian scribes does not appear to have been shared by their Greek Orthodox counterparts. This, at least, is the impression gained by looking at printed collections of Ottoman–Turkish vocal music in Greek script, which focus overwhelmingly on the *şarkı* rather than the *kar* or *beste*.<sup>22</sup> However, this may also reflect the more commercial orientation of printed collections of notation, as opposed to the private nature of the manuscript sources analysed here. Similarly, while Tables 2 and 3 suggest that Muslim musicians were somewhat less inclined than Armenians to use Hampartsum notation to record popular vocal repertoire, this by no means precluded their involvement in urban entertainment music during the late nineteenth century, which is attested by other sources such as printed song-text collections.<sup>23</sup>

With regards to instrumental music, the *peşrev* and *semai* continued to be the main compositional forms throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (notwithstanding changes in their internal structure and musical style). There was, then, no large-scale shift in genres to parallel the rise of the *şarkı* in the vocal repertoire. Nonetheless, it has been noted above that the instrumental repertoire became less prominent in notated manuscripts during the

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<sup>22</sup> Kappler 2002.

<sup>23</sup> For examples, see Paçacı 2010, 43 ff.

later nineteenth century as it was replaced by contemporary vocal music. Armenian scribes also became less likely to notate instrumental music during this period: there are four large instrumental collections by Armenian scribes (amounting to around 640 pieces) dating from 1869 or earlier (and no vocal collections), but only four smaller manuscripts (amounting to around 290 pieces) from after this date, compared to 37 vocal collections (see Table 1). Of course, some instrumental repertoire was also notated in post-1880 collections of vocal music by Armenian scribes, but it is still noteworthy that collections devoted to instrumental music appear to have fallen out of favour during the late nineteenth century.

Muslim scribes also compiled fewer collections of instrumental music after ca. 1880, suggesting that this was a general trend rather than being specific to Armenian musicians. There are 14 collections of instrumental music by Muslim scribes (amounting to around 920 pieces) dating from before this date (and 1 vocal collection), compared to only 5 collections (amounting to around 245 pieces) from afterwards (and 4 vocal collections). On the other hand, Muslim musicians continued to notate instrumental repertoire in significant volumes after ca. 1860, whereas Armenian musicians became less prominent in this area from the mid-nineteenth century onwards: before ca. 1860, manuscripts compiled by Armenians contribute 55% of pieces (approximately 460 out of 850) in instrumental collections, whereas after this date they contribute only 38% (approximately 470 out of 1240).

The fact that, in overall terms, the larger part of the instrumental repertoire was recorded by Muslim scribes reflects the special concern of Mevlevi musicians with both notation and instrumental music. Several of these manuscripts contain instrumental music drawn directly from the Mevlevi ceremony, such as *terennüms* and *son peşrevs*, while all of the instrumental collections contain a large proportion of repertoire composed by Mevlevi musicians.<sup>24</sup> At least 10 manuscripts were written by Mehmed Raşid Efendi (d. after 1896), almost all of them (except CK2) appearing to date from the period ca. 1860–80.<sup>25</sup> Although Raşid Efendi is not

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<sup>24</sup> The instrumental collections M355, M18317, NE213, S6733, S6738 and TA107 contain *terennüms* and/or *son peşrevs*.

<sup>25</sup> The other collections are NE205, NE207, NE208, NE212, NE213, NE215, NE216, NE217 and NE218a. Although there is no autograph on any of these collections, NE216 (entitled ‘Cedîd tākımlar’) is devoted entirely to compositions by Raşid Efendi (excepting a single piece by Nikolaki), who is known to have used Hampartsum notation (Öztuna 1990, II, 217; Özalp 1986, I, 253), and is accepted as an autograph by Jäger (1996b, lx). In addition, Jäger mentions NE212, NE215 and NE218a as being autographs of Raşid Efendi, presumably based on handwriting and content, which again consists of a large number of his own compositions (see *ibid.*, xlix–li, lvii–lviii, lxiii–lxv). However, a closer examination of the handwriting and notational conventions found in NE205, NE207, NE208, NE213 and NE217 shows that these must also have been written by the same scribe, albeit over a long period, with a variety of writing materials and for varying purposes (some collections being prepared as personal sketchbooks, while others are fair copies or carefully planned and beautifully presented compendia).

explicitly mentioned as belonging to the Mevlevi order in the secondary literature, the fact that one of these collections (NE213) is devoted to instrumental music from various Mevlevi *ayins*, in addition to his status as a *neyzen*, indicates that he belonged to Mevlevi music circles. Raşid Efendi was also the owner of NE211 and NE214 (probably written by the same scribe), which, together with the composer names mentioned in these collections, makes it likely that these too originated in Mevlevi circles. Almost all of the instrumental collections compiled by Muslim scribes, then, show a direct or indirect connection with Mevlevi music-making. In addition, S122 is a complete collection of *ayins* (also including other instrumental repertoire) notated by the Mevlevi *neyzen* Emin Efendi (1883–1945), while AR13 is also devoted mainly to Mevlevi *ayins*.

A second distinct social group who used Hampartsum notation consists of Armenian cantors. As discussed in Chapter Five, Armenian musicians were typically trained in sacred vocal music, but in the context of the secular Ottoman tradition were more likely to perform or compose – and thus notate – instrumental repertoire before the mid-nineteenth century. In the latter part of the century, however, the situation changed due to wider shifts in intercommunal relations and the adoption of Hampartsum notation by the Armenian Church. Thus, many collections of popular vocal music dating from ca. 1880 onwards appear to have been compiled by Armenian church singers. This is indicated, first of all, by the fact that the largest single collection of Armeno-Turkish manuscripts devoted to the *şarki* repertoire is now housed in Surp Takavor Armenian Church in Istanbul.

Moreover, some of these manuscripts can be attributed to well-known cantors (or their students) such as Grigor Ĵulhaean (Tr. Krikor Çulhayan, 1868–1938) and Grigor Mēhtērean (Tr. Krikor Mehteryan, 1866–1937).<sup>26</sup> Indeed, the practice amongst Armenian church singers of performing popular Turkish-language songs was so prevalent in the late nineteenth century that the melodies found their way into the liturgy, provoking Komitas to complain that

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The same scribe, almost certainly Raşid Efendi, also wrote pieces in the blank pages of older collections such as NE211 (which contains his seal) and NE214.

<sup>26</sup> ST3 bears the inscription ‘This notebook was gifted to Mihran Asaturean [by] Grigor Ef[endi] Ĵulhaean [sic]’. Ĵulhaean had a typically multifaceted career: a head cantor and teacher in various Armenian churches, he was also active in secular Ottoman music and developed friendships with leading Muslim musicians such as Rauf Yekta and Suphi Ezgi. In addition, he was a sought-after music publisher, and was one of the first musicians to introduce polyphonic arrangements into the Armenian liturgy in the early twentieth century (Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 130–33). See Jackson 2013, 27–8 and *passim* on Ĵulhaean’s relations with Jewish musicians. ST6 was compiled by a student of Grigor Mēhtērean, head cantor at the church of the Armenian patriarchate and a teacher and composer of both sacred and secular music who emigrated to Egypt in 1924 (Hisarlean 1914, 121–2; Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 48). My thanks to Haig Utidjian for helping me to decipher the inscriptions on ST3 and ST6.

celebrations of the mass [were sung] to Turkish melodies such as *şarkı*, *türkü*, *mani* etc., [and] carefully written down in notebooks with ornamented handwriting, [which] all the clerics, supposing themselves to be musicologists, bequeathed to their students and choirboys as if [they] were a priceless treasure; examples of the same are sung even today in all parts of Turkish Armenia, from the capital until the last village church.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, Armenian cantors who were familiar with popular Turkish-language song forms used their knowledge of Hampartsum notation to compile collections not only of sacred music, but also of the secular Ottoman repertoire.

Broadly speaking, then, different areas of Ottoman music-making were associated with distinct social groups. Before the middle of the nineteenth century, both Armenians and Mevlevis notated the courtly instrumental repertoire, but while the latter group maintained this tradition during the following decades, it appears to have become less important among Armenian musicians after 1860. This may be connected to their greater involvement in contemporary, popular music, attested by the large proportion of *şarkıs* notated by Armenian scribes, at least some of whom were cantors. By contrast, Muslim scribes were somewhat more likely to notate older vocal repertoire in genres such as the *kar*, *beste* and *semai*. In general terms, this supports Jäger's analysis of correlations between musical genres, notational practices and ethno-religious background based on a smaller corpus of manuscripts.<sup>28</sup> However, closer examination of the sources points towards a more complex situation, in which there was a greater degree of overlap between different areas of Ottoman music-making, and between different social groups.

In Jäger's interpretation, Hampartsum notation was used by a 'traditionalist' or 'conservative' circle of Muslim musicians to preserve the older Ottoman repertoire from corruption by either European music or urban entertainment music.<sup>29</sup> The central figure in this narrative is Raşid Efendi, who, as noted above, is likely to have been a Mevlevi, and compiled at least 10 of the collections listed in Table 1. However, although Jäger portrays him as a 'an especially conservative composer'<sup>30</sup> whose notations were a reactionary response to the dominance of the vernacular *şarkı*, Raşid Efendi is also the scribe of CK2, which contains only popular contemporary songs. Likewise, the fact that he records a number of works by Nikolaki Efendi (d. 1915?) – a well-known composer of 'piyasa' (i.e. commercial) music – does not, as

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<sup>27</sup> Komitas Vardapet 1897, 224.

<sup>28</sup> Jäger 1996a, 271–2.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 74–5, 82.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 273. See also idem 1996c.

Jäger concludes, speak for the ‘conservative attitude’ of Greek Orthodox musicians in Istanbul.<sup>31</sup> Rather, it suggests that there was no hard and fast distinction between ‘traditionalist’ and ‘popular’ musical worlds in the late nineteenth century. Examples of other musicians who moved easily between these different environments can be multiplied many times over: as Jäger himself notes elsewhere, prominent Muslim singers such as Hacı Arif Bey (1831–84) and Sermüezzın Rifat Bey (1820–88) were active in courtly or religious musical contexts at the same time as being successful composers of popular song.<sup>32</sup>

To be sure, there are a number of collections compiled after 1880 which are devoted entirely to older vocal repertoire rather than contemporary songs (see Table 2), which may support the argument that Hampartsum notation was used to enshrine in writing an obsolescent musical tradition. Similarly, apocryphal attributions to individuals such as Plato, al-Fārābī and especially al-Marāghī may point, as Walter Feldman has argued in a different context, towards a desire to shore up a declining musical tradition by recourse to historical figures of authority.<sup>33</sup> However, contrary to Jäger’s suggestion that such practices were associated predominantly with Muslim musicians, Table 2 shows that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Armenian scribes also compiled collections devoted to the courtly genres *kar*, *beste* and *semai*. As I will show in the following chapter, the notion of preserving valuable repertoire through the use of notation was not limited to a particular ethno-religious group, but was part of a larger debate amongst Ottoman musicians and intellectuals from a variety of backgrounds.

As I argued in Chapter Five, although non-Muslims became more prominent in Turkish-language vocal music during the second half of the nineteenth century, they remained statistically underrepresented as composers. However, the evidence of the collections shows that they were highly active as performers of contemporary, popular song. Moreover, the role of Armenians in notating the older courtly repertoire demonstrates that this tradition became more accessible to non-Muslim musicians in the final decades of the nineteenth century. It is also clear that Hampartsum notation was used by both Armenians and Muslim Turks to notate a wide range of music, including not only the older courtly repertoire but also popular songs and even, in some cases, Europeanised genres such as *kanto* or military marches.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, the case of Raşid Efendi shows that it was employed by individual musicians – rather than homogeneous social groups – for a variety of purposes, which encompassed both the notation

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<sup>31</sup> Idem 1996a, 81.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 100–101.

<sup>33</sup> Feldman 1990–91; idem 2015, 127–34.

<sup>34</sup> See e.g. MU3, pp. 42–3, 56; M4994, ff. 2r–9v (later pagination).

of contemporary popular music as well as the careful inscription of older, more specialised repertoire.

The broader implications of the ways in which Hampartsum notation was used by Ottoman musicians can only be partly addressed by analysing the genres found in the collections. In particular, the question of the ‘historicisation’ or ‘classicisation’ of the Ottoman repertoire, which is closely connected to the relationship between notational practice and social identity, demands wider contextualisation and engagement with contemporary debates amongst both Armenian and Muslim commentators. In addition, it requires an understanding of how Hampartsum notation was situated within the larger landscape of oral and literate practices in late Ottoman Istanbul. However, before considering the contexts and discourses surrounding the use of Hampartsum notation during the second half of the nineteenth century, it will be useful to discuss in more detail the differing purposes of the notation system based on the internal evidence of the collections. As I will show, a closer analysis of scribal practices can illustrate the interaction of oral and literate transmission methods, undermining the idea that the adoption of Hampartsum notation necessarily represented a departure from established traditions.

### 6.3. Performing, Teaching and Preserving the Ottoman Repertoire

Broadly speaking, we can distinguish between three overlapping areas of musical activity in which collections of Hampartsum notation were used: performance, teaching and preservation. Of these, perhaps the least important was performance itself. The practical orientation of the manuscripts is attested to some extent by signs of physical wear, emendations, and annotations giving performance instructions (e.g. ‘the fourth *hane* is fast’, or ‘a *taksim* is to be played here by a bowed instrument’).<sup>35</sup> However, although they may have been used to refresh a musician’s memory, it is unlikely that collections of Hampartsum notation were regularly used during the course of performance. As I will argue in the following chapter, oral transmission continued to be the norm in pedagogical contexts well into the late nineteenth century, and there is little reason to suppose that the situation was any different when it came to performance. On the other hand, Armenian musicians may have been more accustomed to reading from Hampartsum

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. Jäger 2006a, 111; idem 1996c, 36n10.

notation in liturgical settings, especially after the adoption of the notation system by the Armenian Church – but again, this was only a partial exception.

More important than its role during performance itself was the use of Hampartsum notation as a pedagogical tool. There are a number of indications of this: some collections contain didactic exercises (with dates indicating that they had been studied progressively), while others include charts of correspondences between the signs of Hampartsum notation and the Ottoman pitch system (according to their production on particular instruments), or descriptions of *usul* patterns, also suggesting a didactic purpose.<sup>36</sup> Annotations in some collections, which provide information about the circumstances in which a piece was learned, indicate that they were compiled during the course of study.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, many collections were compiled over a considerable period of time, and include additions by several hands, indicating that they were passed on between different generations of musicians who were probably in a teacher–pupil relationship. This is made explicit by ST3 and ST6, both of which were bequeathed by Armenian cantors to their students. But although Hampartsum notation evidently formed part of the education of some Ottoman musicians, it is a different question how widespread this practice was, or whether it led to fundamental changes in the process of musical transmission. These issues will be addressed in more detail below and in the following chapter.

Besides their practical functions as *aides-mémoire* or pedagogical tools, some collections of Hampartsum notation were compiled with clear intention to preserve a particular repertoire in written form. Manuscripts such as NE205, NE207 and TA109 were planned and written with meticulous care: headings and other text in red ink, neat page layout and decorative flourishes suggest the possibility that these collections were not simply personal notebooks.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, the contents of NE205 and other manuscripts were determined in advance, before the pieces themselves were transcribed (a number of pieces appear in the lists of contents, but are not notated).<sup>39</sup> While there is no direct evidence of commission, these features, together

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<sup>36</sup> See e.g. AK86, p. 435 (original pagination); M4995, ff. 26r–35v (later pagination); NÇ1, pp. 1–3; NE209, 95a–b; NE211, p. [263]. See Jäger 1996a, 185–215 for a detailed discussion of *usul* notations in the collections NE209, NE211 and a privately held manuscript.

<sup>37</sup> E.g. M4995; TA108.

<sup>38</sup> While the scribe of TA109 was Armenian, the headings are in a different hand (in red ink), probably that of a Muslim scribe with better knowledge of Arabic orthography (the original scribe's imperfect handwriting in Arabic script can be seen in another collection, AK86). The headings were added later than the transcriptions, and remained incomplete. This suggests careful planning of the manuscript, and the possibility that it was intended for presentation rather than simply personal use.

<sup>39</sup> See also NE211 and AM1537.



with other contextual evidence discussed in Chapter Seven, suggest that some collections may have been prepared by scribes on request.

In some cases, pieces were not transcribed from an oral source or from memory, but were copied from other manuscripts. This is indicated by annotations such as ‘kayd şüd’ (‘has been registered’) or ‘yazılmışdır’ (‘has been written’), as well as symbols or letters signifying that a piece had been copied into another collection.<sup>40</sup> In certain instances, the scribe gives more specific information, e.g. ‘taken from Raşid [?] Efendi’s collection’.<sup>41</sup> Comparison of different versions of pieces in certain manuscripts shows that they were copied note for note, or are draft and fair copies of the same notation, the latter integrating emendations found in the former.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, biographical accounts attest to the fact that some musicians were known as particularly competent scribes who would prepare fair copies of manuscripts. According to İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal, Salih Dede’s (d. 1886) musical handwriting was ‘very legible. He used to make clean copies out of the draft notations that Şey[h] Hüseyin [Fahreddin] Efendi [1854–1911] had written.’<sup>43</sup>

The identical transcription of the same piece in different manuscripts, down to the smallest rest and ornament, implies that the notations were intended to convey an exact rendition of a piece rather than simply providing a suggestive outline. Indeed, even where there is no evidence of textual copying, the level of detail provided by the manuscripts suggests that they were meant to preserve pieces in a particular form, rather than being a temporary or impressionistic record of performance. The desire for exactness also manifests itself in judgements about whether a particular version of a piece is correct or not. The scribe of TA110, for example, has written next to one piece: ‘This was written twice because this is the better [version]’.<sup>44</sup> Emendations in other sources show that the difference between what were considered correct or incorrect versions of a piece could consist in apparently insignificant

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<sup>40</sup> E.g. NE211, NE218a, ST1, S6738.

<sup>41</sup> ST1, p. 181: ‘rēšit efentinin mēčmuasəntan aləmma [sic]’. The piece appears in a section of the manuscript which is written by a later hand, probably after 1860.

<sup>42</sup> Compare e.g. NE211, NE205 and NE207. See also Jäger 2015, 45.

<sup>43</sup> İnal 1958, 200. The chronology is somewhat inconsistent here: İnal mentions that Salih Dede was alive during the ‘Armenian incident’, which must refer to the events of 1896, yet he died in 1886. On the other hand, according to Öztuna (1990, II, 257), Salih Dede was the *ney* teacher of Fahreddin Dede, so may still plausibly have helped him to prepare fair copies of his notations.

<sup>44</sup> TA110, p. 75: ‘bu iği tēfa eazəlməş zērē pu ēyisidir’. The first – and therefore ‘incorrect’ – version is found in the same manuscript at p. 37. The ‘correct’ version was also copied into NE203 at p. 18 (with the same annotation).

details, such as the substitution of one passing two-note phrase for another or the addition of half a beat's rest.<sup>45</sup>

The notion of a correct version of a musical work was tied to the authority of individual musicians and their distinct performance styles. TA108 includes remarks such as 'acquired from Nikoğos Ağa' or 'taken from Tanburi Aleksan Efendi' implying that the notated version is an accurate representation of the way it was performed by these musicians.<sup>46</sup> Annotations in other manuscripts show that individual musicians were associated with particular performance styles, referred to as 'tavır' ('mode', 'manner') or 'yol' ('way'). Pieces in ST1, for example, are described as being in 'Oskiyan Ağa's style' or 'in Raşid Efendi's way'<sup>47</sup>; likewise, several pieces in M355 are labelled as being in 'Salim Bey's style'.<sup>48</sup> That certain stylistic characteristics were associated the living performer rather than the composer is evident from the fact that the heading names both, e.g. '*Bestenigār [peşrevi]* of Osman Ağa, Salim Bey's style'; in the latter case, the piece is juxtaposed with another version of Osman Ağa's *peşrev* in 'Nakşi Dede's style'.<sup>49</sup> Scribes were also conscious of the cultural context of different performance styles. M355 gives two versions of the final *hane* of a *peşrev*, one in 'Salim Bey's style', and one in 'the old style played in the *dergāhs*', and the scribes of ST1 and TA110 note that certain pieces were associated with the Sufi lodge.<sup>50</sup> Other pieces are denoted as being 'in today's manner', or in 'the new way' or 'the old way'.<sup>51</sup>

Although attributions to named composers are found in the earliest notated sources and song-text collections in the Ottoman tradition, this practice seems to have become more prevalent in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>52</sup> In pre-1860 collections of Hampartsum notation (all of which are instrumental), an average of around 47% of pieces are attributed to named individuals. This is a similar percentage to earlier anthologies of instrumental music, such as the Cantemir and Kevseri collections (in which around 45% of pieces are attributed to

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<sup>45</sup> Jäger (2017) has shown how the alterations in NE211 are related to the convergence of the melodic line with the pattern of the underlying rhythmic cycle.

<sup>46</sup> TA108, pp. 24a, 26a, 64a (printed pagination).

<sup>47</sup> ST1, pp. 84–5.

<sup>48</sup> See M355, pp. 89 and the original index. Also discussed in Jäger 2015, 41n13.

<sup>49</sup> M355, pp. 88–9. These examples raise the possibility that pieces later attributed to a 'composer' were originally only associated with that musician's performance style. This is also suggested by the case of the 'Ambassador' ('Elçi') *peşrev*, in which the addition of a final *hane* in the style of İsak led, within one or two generations, to the attribution of the entire (originally anonymous) piece to the latter musician (Jäger 1998, 32–3; idem 2015, 39–42).

<sup>50</sup> M355, p. 85; ST1, pp. 87, 128; TA110, p. 4.

<sup>51</sup> ST1, pp. 177, 189; TA108, p. 8b. TA110, p. 37 contains the following note: 'öpir t'eftirtē tē pu beşrēf var lāgin ō eni t'avurtur' ('This *peşrev* is also found in the other notebook, but that [version] is in the new style').

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Jäger 2017, 191–3.

named composers). After 1860, however, an average of around 80% of pieces in collections of Hampartsum notation are attributed to a composer, and the figure for some manuscripts is as high as 90% or 100%. This can be explained in part by the inclusion of vocal works, which were more likely to be ascribed to a composer, though collections of instrumental music also supply composer attributions more frequently after 1860. It might also be noted in this context that the few manuscripts which show explicit evidence of authorship all date from 1869 or later.

Both of these developments – the increasing importance of composer attributions and the practice of inscribing music collections with signatures or dates – imply that the concept of individual authorship became more sharply defined in Ottoman music circles towards the end of the nineteenth century. This may be connected to, *inter alia*, the increasing circulation of printed music and song texts by named authors with publishing rights; at the same time, it suggests that the written musical text had begun to acquire greater autonomy and authority.<sup>53</sup>

There are, then, a number of indications that the use of Hampartsum notation may have been connected to the emergence of the concept of an authoritative musical ‘text’. Hampartsum notation was used in teaching contexts, and to record particular versions of musical pieces as they were taught by individual musicians. These notations could be transmitted between several generations, providing a degree of fixity and autonomy to a particular interpretation of a composition. Moreover, written versions of musical pieces were judged to be more or less correct according to the finest details of textual rendition, and were increasingly associated with named composers, performers and scribes. In addition, such texts could be copied directly from a manuscript rather than transcribed from memory or from an oral source. In some cases, collections of notation were prepared with foresight and with an awareness that they could be consulted or acquired by people other than the scribe himself, possibly even in response to a commission. All of these features would imply that the use of Hampartsum notation contributed at least in part to a shift in methods of musical transmission and to a more text-based, objective conception of the musical work.<sup>54</sup>

However, while it is certain that Hampartsum notation had some impact on the way the Ottoman repertoire was transmitted during the nineteenth century, this narrative should be approached with caution. Despite a few exceptions noted above, the majority of the manuscripts listed in Table 1 appear to have been compiled for personal, private use, rather than being part of conscious effort to inscribe an authoritative collection of musical works. They are

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<sup>53</sup> Cf. Jäger 2015, 42.

<sup>54</sup> On the so-called ‘work-concept’ in European music, see Goehr 1992 and Talbot 2000.

overwhelmingly anonymous and undated, and their generally untidy presentation and more or less random ordering of contents also contribute to the impression that they served mainly as personal records of repertoire.

Furthermore, the degree to which the precision and density of the notations reflects the influence of textual rather than oral transmission is open to debate. Indeed, it might be argued that oral transmission itself encouraged fidelity to an authoritative source – that is, to a specific interpretation of a piece as it was learned from a master musician.<sup>55</sup> Viewed from this perspective, the level of detail conveyed by the notations, and the frequent convergence between independently transcribed versions, suggest that many aspects of a musical work, including embellishments, rests and precise phrasing, were closely adhered to in each performance. Hence, the notations represent the form of a piece as it had been learned from a teacher and as it existed in a performer's memory – and it was this, rather than a written exemplar, which in most cases provided the blueprint for transcription. There are further indications that notated manuscripts were not the primary means by which musical repertoire was transmitted or preserved, but rather a precautionary record of pieces that had been previously memorised. The scribe of TA108, for example, notes that a *peşrev* by Corci was 'acquired from Nikoğos Ağa on Sunday 15 August 1287 [1871]', but was 'recorded in the notebook on Saturday 5 February 1292 [1876]', i.e. over four years later.<sup>56</sup> Thus, compositions were first learned aurally and later committed to writing, safeguarding in a different medium a repertoire that was already preserved in memory.

At the same time, although there are close convergences between certain sources, there are also significant divergences between pieces notated in different manuscripts. This would suggest that similarities between independently notated versions stem from a common oral source, while, conversely, different written versions derive from separate lines of oral transmission. Variations can also be accounted for by the fact that, as we have seen, scribes could notate repertoire long after they had first learned it, or could notate it twice at different times. Of course, relationships between lines of oral transmission may overlap with patterns of textual filiation, as scribes may have been connected through a shared teaching lineage as well as direct textual contacts. But although in general both textual and oral transmission encouraged the faithful reproduction of a particular version of a musical work, neither method prevented

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<sup>55</sup> On the conservatism of oral transmission in general, see e.g. Finnegan 1977, 73–87; Narasimhan 1991; Carruthers 2008.

<sup>56</sup> TA108, p. 24a.

the proliferation of multiple variants of a piece. In many cases, scribes not only notated two versions of a piece unwittingly, but even did so consciously, aware that a particular version was after the fashion of a known musician, was ‘better’, or was in the ‘old’ or ‘new’ style.

In the long term, as is well established, variations occurring during the course of oral transmission led to major stylistic and structural transformations in the Ottoman instrumental repertoire.<sup>57</sup> Yet as I have argued elsewhere, this process was not as uniform as previously supposed: while some pieces were transformed almost beyond recognition between the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, others remained relatively unchanged.<sup>58</sup> The high degree of corroboration between early notated collections of Ottoman music, although they were written half a century or more apart, similarly demonstrates that repertoire could be transmitted quite accurately over long periods of time without notation.<sup>59</sup> This suggests that the presence or absence of notation was not necessarily the decisive factor in patterns of stability or variation; as Leo Treitler writes, ‘Transmission through oral channels does not predestine a practice to instability, any more than transmission through written channels guarantees stability of the tradition’.<sup>60</sup>

Consequently, the use of notation cannot be regarded in isolation from other aspects of musical transmission, including oral dimensions as well as changes in repertoire or performance practices and the social contexts in which these occurred. In the medium term of the nineteenth century, while it is impossible to come to definite conclusions without a comprehensive analysis of the corpus, the available data suggest that lines of variation and stability were equally complex as in earlier periods, and it cannot be assumed that they reflect a straightforward transition from an oral (and thus ‘unstable’) to a literate (and thus ‘stable’) music culture. Even as notation began to play a more important role in the process of musical transmission, it interacted with existing modes of orality, while both written and oral transmission were influenced by a range of external factors.<sup>61</sup>

In sum, the internal evidence of the collections suggests that although Hampartsum notation may have been connected in a limited sense to the notion of an authoritative musical text, it did not lead to the ossification of the Ottoman repertoire. Musical works continued to

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<sup>57</sup> Wright 1988; Jäger 1998.

<sup>58</sup> Olley 2018, 2017.

<sup>59</sup> Ekinçi 2012.

<sup>60</sup> Treitler 1992, 149. Levy (1990) has argued for the stability of oral chant transmission before the introduction of neumatic notation.

<sup>61</sup> See Davis 2004, 51–70 for a discussion of oral–literate interplay in the Tunisian *ma’lūf* during the twentieth century.

exist in multiple variants even in written sources, which could be acknowledged as representing equally valid interpretations. Furthermore, the notion of a correct or authentic version of a musical work was derived not primarily from notated texts, but from a pre-existing oral tradition which required the accurate transmission of musical materials associated with particular composers or performers. Thus, Hampartsum notation did not replace oral transmission methods, but complemented and interacted with them. For this reason, it should be viewed not in terms of a dichotomy between oral and written culture, but as one element in a broad and multifaceted landscape which encompassed various forms of literate and oral activity. The following chapter therefore moves beyond the collections themselves to assess the broader impact of Hampartsum notation on musical life during the second half of the nineteenth century, giving particular attention to the changing dynamics of the oral–literate interface.



## 7. Writing Music in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul

The preceding analysis of the available manuscripts shows that there was a significant increase in the use of Hampartsum notation amongst Ottoman musicians during the second half of the nineteenth century, reaching a peak after around 1880. In the present chapter, I explore the question of whether the adoption of this technology constituted a watershed in the history of Ottoman music; and if so, how this can be related to broader changes in Ottoman urban society. In seeking answers to these questions, I examine contemporary debates amongst Ottoman musicians and intellectuals about the use of notation and their wider social and historical context. While a number of Ottoman commentators viewed notation as a means of progress and an essential tool for the transmission and preservation of musical repertoire, others were indifferent or even hostile to the use of such technologies. At the same time, Hampartsum notation was used in ways unintended by the early reformers, and blended with practices and ideas that were more closely associated with oral transmission. The following discussion of the uses and perceptions of Hampartsum notation thus offers a framework through which to explore the relationship between orality and literacy, which in turn suggests new ways to think about late Ottoman modernity.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw important changes in the urban centres of the Ottoman Empire, many of which were directly related to the question of literacy. Literacy rates increased as the result of direct efforts on the part of the Ottoman state to improve schools and renew its bureaucratic infrastructure, alongside private or community-led initiatives in education and printing. A thriving multilingual press emerged, contributing to the formation of an educated, ethnically diverse bourgeoisie. In parallel with these general developments, literacy and printing became important factors in Ottoman musical life, with printed collections of song lyrics, notated scores and tutors catering to a growing market for light, contemporary repertoire and amateur music-making. During the same period, Hampartsum notation was adopted more widely amongst both Armenian and Muslim musicians.

The spread of the notation system during the later nineteenth century was connected to a concern amongst some Ottoman musicians to modernise the process of musical transmission and to preserve repertoire that was perceived to be in danger of loss. Yet despite the ethical imperative that often accompanied such arguments, it never achieved universal or even truly widespread acceptance. The relatively narrow diffusion of the notation system can be related to



a number of issues, including professional rivalry, ethno-religious segmentation and attachment to established teaching methods. In addition, the introduction of print technology and the institutionalisation of education both played an important role in shaping late Ottoman musical life. An investigation of the institutional, technological and cultural factors that underlay the processes of musical transmission helps to account for commonalities and divergences between different forms of musical literacy. The concluding section of this chapter therefore considers the differing yet intertwined histories of Hampartsum and staff notation, illustrating how musical practices indexed the social and cultural transformations that accompanied the transition from empire to republic.

### 7.1. Literacy, Progress and Historicity

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Mxit‘arist order sought to increase levels of literacy amongst the Armenian communities of the Ottoman Empire through linguistic reform, the establishment of schools and learned societies, and the dissemination of printed books. As I argued in Chapter Two, Hampartsum notation emerged as part of this larger cultural and intellectual revival, in close interaction with the activities and debates that accompanied the processes of educational and linguistic reform. The Tiwzean family, who played a key role in the development of the notation system, were major patrons of the Mxit‘arists, supporting scholarship and publications on language as well as a number of schools in Istanbul, where both Bžškean and Limōnčean were employed. Furthermore, many of Bžškean’s publications were part of an effort to improve literacy levels amongst the Armenian *millet*, and included grammars, vernacular literature and readers for children that were widely used in Armenian schools in the Ottoman capital.<sup>1</sup>

For Bžškean, the invention of Hampartsum notation was comparable to the creation of the Armenian alphabet: it would systematise the process of musical transmission, providing a ‘rule’ (*kanon*) for the notation of melodies that would preserve them from loss or alteration, while at the same time contributing to the enlightenment and self-awareness of the Armenian nation. Similarly, Limōnčean argued that Hampartsum notation would fix in written form melodies that were prone to vary during oral transmission, thereby safeguarding the repertoire of Armenian church music, which was perceived to be in decline due to the dispersal of the

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<sup>1</sup> See Sarafian 1930, 203 and Nicheanian 1989, 297.

Armenians and the influence of neighbouring cultures. The inventors of Hampartsum notation thus saw it as a ‘scientific’ (*usumnakan*) writing system that would lead to the systematisation of musical transmission and encourage fidelity to a standardised version of the repertoire. Moreover, these notions of musical reform were part of a more general discourse of renewal, enlightenment and national cohesion.

As Limōnčean’s memoir shows, the Armenian Church was reluctant to accept the new notation system during his lifetime. However, the increasing use of Hampartsum notation in the second half of the nineteenth century coincided with a process of secularisation and the growth of reformist trends within the Armenian *millet*, as communal schools, presses and learned societies flourished in the Ottoman capital.<sup>2</sup> By the 1870s, the Church itself had adopted Hampartsum notation in order to print the Armenian hymnal, contributing to its more widespread use amongst Armenian cantors during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The spread of the notation system, then, might be seen as an aspect of a more general process of modernisation within the Ottoman Armenian community. This encompassed institutional changes, such as the secularisation and increased accessibility of education, as well as intellectual developments, in particular a growing concern with the notions of progress, modernity and the divide between ‘eastern’ and ‘western’ civilisations. Both types of change were accompanied by technological shifts, most importantly the spread of printing.

These developments were not particular to the Armenian *millet*, but affected many different groups within Ottoman society. At the turn of the nineteenth century, literacy rates across the empire were as low as 1%, and high levels of literacy were limited to a tiny scribal corps.<sup>3</sup> However, by 1900 this figure had risen to 10–15% as a result of a determined effort to reform the state education system, as well as the emergence of private initiatives and the growth of communal schools amongst the non-Muslim *millets*.<sup>4</sup> The new infrastructure of state schools, which included institutions of higher and professional education as well as elementary and middle schools, encouraged instruction in a simpler form of spoken Turkish rather than the

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<sup>2</sup> On the general context of late nineteenth-century cultural and intellectual life amongst the Armenian community of Istanbul, see Zekiyan 1997b, 67–82; Oshagan 1983, 61 ff.; idem 1997, 151 ff.; Ter Minassian 2006, 119–48; idem 1997b; Kılıçdağı 2010; Kasbarian-Bricout 1981, 194 ff.; Adalian 1992; Young 2001.

<sup>3</sup> Findley gives figures of 1% and 5–10% for 1800 and 1900 respectively, which are supported by Davison (Findley 1989, 52, 139; cf. Davison 1963, 175). Much higher figures are proposed by Karpāt (1981), and are taken up uncritically by Somel (2001, 19). For a summary, see Georgeon (1995, 170–73), who offers a critique of Karpāt’s arguments and suggests the figure of 10–15% for 1914. The total number of men in scribal service in 1790 has been estimated at 2,000, compared to around 38,000 for Russia in 1800 (Findley 1989, 22–3).

<sup>4</sup> On Ottoman Christian communal schools during the nineteenth century, see Somel 2005.

elaborate language of the Ottoman ruling elite.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, knowledge of Arabic and Persian declined in the later nineteenth century, and non-Muslims – who were more likely to know French, increasingly a requisite for civil servants – were partly integrated into the state education system as both teachers and pupils, particularly in elite institutions such as the Mekteb-i sultani (later Galatasaray Lisesi).<sup>6</sup>

The growth of literacy and the deepening of commercial and political links with Europe were accompanied by the emergence of a lively local print culture in Istanbul and other urban centres of the empire. Periodicals and books in various languages and scripts flourished as a new class of middling professionals and civil servants created a market not only for textbooks or manuals, but also for novels, literary reviews and other public forums where political and social issues could be debated.<sup>7</sup> Printing was also used in musical contexts, beginning with the Greco-Turkish collections of *şarkıs* that were published from 1820 onwards, and song-text anthologies (without notation) in Arabic script from the 1850s. By the 1880s, printed sheet music was easily available in the Ottoman capital, sometimes as a supplement to well-known journals, as contemporary composers and publishers catered to the demand for notation tutors and collections of light, popular repertoire amongst amateur musicians.<sup>8</sup>

The increasing use of Hampartsum notation in the last decades of the nineteenth century thus occurred in parallel with a general growth in literacy as well as the adoption of print technology in both musical and non-musical contexts. Furthermore, the use of notation was associated, like literacy, with debates about progress, intercommunal relations and the place of the empire in the modern world. In the 1870s, Armenian intellectuals such as Eġia Tntesean (1834–81) argued that Hampartsum notation was as technologically advanced as European staff notation, yet was more suitable to represent the nuances of ‘Eastern’ (*arewelean*) music.<sup>9</sup> Like Bžškean and his collaborators, Tntesean viewed the reformed notation system as an instrument of progress for the Armenian people and a source of pride in relation to neighbouring communities. Furthermore, he enthusiastically supported the transcription and publication of the music of the liturgy as a monument to Armenian nationhood.<sup>10</sup> As his contemporary Eduard

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<sup>5</sup> Somel 2001, 46–7. On the divide between literary Ottoman and spoken Turkish, see Strauss 1995b, 232–3 and 246–52. See also idem 2008, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Findley 1989, 167–70; Somel 2001, 85, 129, 273. The proportion of non-Muslim students at the Mekteb-i sultani in 1868–70 was 57%, and its second director was an Armenian (Şişman 1996, 325; Somel 2001, 52–3).

<sup>7</sup> Strauss 2005, 2003a, 1999b, 1994; Fortna 2012, 2010; Finn 1984; Evin 1983. See Hitzel 1999 for an overview of book culture in Istanbul during the Ottoman period.

<sup>8</sup> Paçacı 2010; Alaner 1986; Jäger 1996a, 73–84. See below *infra* for further discussion.

<sup>9</sup> Tntesean 1874, 86–8.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 91, 98.

Hiwmiwzean wrote in 1873, there was an urgent need for patriotic (*azgasēr*) musicologists to notate the sacred repertoire of *šarakans*, and thus ‘to discover a way for them to remain unforgettable and unalterable, so that this national patrimony may be preserved.’<sup>11</sup>

The idea of preserving valuable repertoire from loss or alteration by means of notation was also current amongst Muslim musicians. In the 1880s, for example, Hacı Emin Efendi (1845–1907) wrote that Hampartsum notation had been invented because of the fear ‘that with the passing of time melodies which had been learned would slip from memory, and in order to preserve the science of music according to sounder principles so that it might not be completely destroyed’.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, some musicians ‘had the *peşrevs*, *semā’īs*, *şarkıs* and *bestes* that had been composed by themselves and by the musicians who had come before them taken down on paper, so that the melodies which existed in the science of music at that time would not be destroyed’.<sup>13</sup> Similar statements were made by Ali Rifat (Çağatay) (1867–1935) in a series of articles on ‘the science of music’, published in the journal *Ma’lūmāt* in 1895–6, in which didactic examples are given in Hampartsum notation.<sup>14</sup> As he argued, ‘Music is a language, whose writing is notation. With the conditions of oral transmission (*ağızdan ağıza intikāl etmek*), how can a science such as music, which is difficult to grasp, be preserved?’<sup>15</sup>

Such statements appear to support the argument, put forward by Ralf Martin Jäger and discussed briefly in the previous chapter, that some collections of Hampartsum notation were written as part of a conscious effort to inscribe a newly ‘historicised’ or ‘classicised’ musical repertoire. This hypothesis is based mainly on the evidence of NE215 and NE216, both written by Raşid Efendi and labelled as collections of ‘ancient’ (*‘atīk*) and ‘new’ (*cedīd*) works respectively.<sup>16</sup> Jäger maintains that such a diachronic distinction is ‘unusual for a traditional culture’, and therefore may result from Raşid Efendi’s exposure to European music at the Ottoman court.<sup>17</sup> In addition, he argues that the use of Hampartsum notation was, by the 1870s, itself ‘archaic’ and therefore a marker of conservatism, which he associates with Muslim music circles and especially the ‘strongly tradition-bound’ Mevlevīs, who were engaged in a project

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<sup>11</sup> Hiwmiwzean, 1873, 54.

<sup>12</sup> Hacı Emīn. 1302/1885, 9–10. See Erol 2003 for a transliteration and commentary. See also Yalçın 2014.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>14</sup> ‘Ali Rif’ at 1311–12/1895–6. Facsimile and transliteration in Arpağuş 2004, 19–55, 152 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 10.

<sup>16</sup> Jäger 1996c.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 45–6.

of inscribing the classical Ottoman repertoire before it was lost in the deluge of European and popular music.<sup>18</sup>

Yet as Jäger acknowledges, there are a number of factors that complicate these arguments.<sup>19</sup> Most obviously, the sharp increase in manuscript collections after 1880 shows that, far from being archaic, Hampartsum notation became significantly *more* widespread in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, contrary to the idea that it was a marker of social conservatism, the reformed notation system was in fact associated with a ‘progressive’ faction within the Armenian community, whereas the most ‘conservative’ musicians regarded notation as anathema to traditional teaching methods, as I show below. Likewise, Ali Rifat’s choice of Hampartsum notation in his essay series, published in a periodical that was *au courant* with the latest European literature and academic scholarship, demonstrates that it was considered an appropriate medium for the modernisation of Ottoman music as late as the 1890s.<sup>20</sup> The notation system was not, then, a remnant of an ancient tradition which declined in the face of modernity, but was itself closely intertwined with notions of reform and progress, and flourished alongside the new repertoire, musical practices and technologies that emerged in the late Ottoman period.

Similarly questionable is Jäger’s characterisation of the Mevlevi order as a ‘strongly tradition-bound’ or ‘conservative’ institution. While the order was by definition tradition-bound in the sense of adhering to certain ritual and social practices, this did not entail a wholesale opposition to reform, innovation or westernisation. A number of scholars have pointed out that the ‘classical’ Mevlevi poet Şeyh Galib (1757–98), for example, wrote panegyrics to the military reforms enacted under Selim III’s New Order.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, as discussed in Chapter Five, Mevlevi musicians were the first to adopt Hampartsum notation outside of Armenian circles in the mid-nineteenth century, indicating an openness towards new technologies and cultural practices.

Indeed, Mevleviis such as Salih Dede were proficient in both Hampartsum notation and staff notation, while Şeyh Fahreddin Efendi (1854–1911) was familiar enough with European music to give an impromptu performance of a piece by Chopin when his nephew visited

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 47; idem 1996a, 73–5, 82–3, 92–101.

<sup>19</sup> Jäger 1996a, 75, 99–101.

<sup>20</sup> On the role of *Ma’lūmāt* in late Ottoman literary and intellectual life, see Uçman 2003.

<sup>21</sup> Gawrych 1987; Holbrook 1999. See also Carter Findley’s discussion of the memoirs of Aşçı Dede Halil İbrahim, a bureaucrat and dervish who exemplifies the entanglement of ‘modern’ and ‘mystical’ worldviews in the late Ottoman period (Findley 1989, 179–87, 281–92; idem 1983).

Bahariye Mevlevihane as a child.<sup>22</sup> By the turn of the twentieth century, Şeyh Ataullah Efendi (1842–1910) – who also compiled collections of Hampartsum notation – was using a sonometer to measure the intervals of Ottoman music, the results of which were published in Lavignac’s *Encyclopédie de la musique*.<sup>23</sup> The use of Hampartsum notation amongst Mevlevi musicians was not, then, necessarily a sign of conservatism, but went hand-in-hand with their engagement with modern technologies and intellectual debates.

In a general sense, the adoption of Hampartsum notation in the later nineteenth century was part of a larger process of modernisation, and was associated with a discourse of reform and progress. Concurrently, some Ottoman musicians and intellectuals saw the notation system as a means of safeguarding repertoire that was perceived to be in danger of decline or loss, while in the case of the Armenian community this was closely tied to the issue of national identity. The desire to preserve certain musical traditions, whether the courtly repertoire or the music of the Armenian Church, may have arisen partly in response to the rapid transformation of urban life in late nineteenth-century Istanbul, and the accompanying emergence of new musical genres and performance practices. However, as I argued in Chapter Six, such apparently reactionary motives were not particular to Muslim musicians, while Hampartsum notation itself was not a marker of social conservatism, nor associated exclusively with a particular musical repertoire. Rather, it was used for a variety of purposes, often by a single individual or social group, making it difficult to distinguish between ‘modern’ and ‘traditional’ or ‘popular’ and ‘elite’ musical practices or communities.

At the same time, it is important to ask whether the notions of historicity, decline or faithful preservation of a musical tradition were necessarily linked to the adoption of Hampartsum notation, or indeed to the specific intellectual and social conditions of the late nineteenth century. While the latter may have provided new impetus and new means of preserving musical repertoire, a consideration of the wider historical context of such practices shows that there were significant continuities with earlier periods. Raşid Efendi’s distinction between ‘ancient’ and ‘new’ works was, in fact, hardly novel: compilers of earlier Ottoman notation and song-text collections showed an awareness of historicity by placing works that

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<sup>22</sup> Cited in İnal 1958, 193–4. See Çevikoğlu 2010 and Küçük 2003, 152–62 for more information about Fahreddin Efendi. According to Gölpınarlı, the first piano to arrive in Istanbul was installed in Galata (Kulekapı) Mevlevihane, and was used in Mevlevi ceremonies (Gölpınarlı 1983, 455).

<sup>23</sup> İnal 1958, 85. The results of Ataullah Efendi’s acoustic research are presented in Yekta 1922, 2982–96. Cf. Aksoy 1985, 1232–3; O’Connell 2000, 121n6; Özcan 2010, 37. For Ataullah Efendi’s career as a Mevlevi, see Küçük 2003, 97–101. The technology-driven measurement of musical intervals was a central topic of debate amongst Greek Orthodox musicians and intellectuals in the late nineteenth century: see Erol 2015, 122–7.

were perceived to be older at the beginning of manuscripts or mode sections, or by explicitly labelling them as ‘ancient’.<sup>24</sup> Conversely, certain works or musical modes were named as ‘new’ by Cantemir and other eighteenth-century theorists such as Hızır Ağa and Abdülbaki Dede, who were fully cognizant of the conceptual and practical divide between the ‘ancients’ and the ‘moderns’.<sup>25</sup> Clearly, then, a sense of historicity existed in Ottoman music long before the 1870s, and the impulse to canonise ancient, valued repertoire cannot be explained simply as a reaction to ‘modernisation’ or ‘westernisation’.

The earlier contrast between ancients and moderns was an aspect of a broader shift away from a regional, Persianate musical tradition towards a more localised Ottoman music culture centred on Istanbul. In his recent reappraisal of this historical process, Feldman writes of a musical ‘renaissance’ in the late seventeenth century, in which older genres and performance practices were revived or reinvented, while new (or previously vernacular) practices were given canonical status.<sup>26</sup> Katherine Butler Schofield has argued that Hindustani music went through a comparable process of perceived decline, revival and ‘classicization’ at the Mughal court in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>27</sup> As Schofield demonstrates, this undermines the commonly held view that such processes were necessarily a reflection of European influence, or that they were particular to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Jonathan Glasser has similarly argued that notions of loss and revival have long been constitutive of the Andalusian musical traditions of North Africa, while Jean During has described an analogous dynamic in Persian classical music.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, even in Carolingian Europe the endeavour to establish a standardised corpus of chant was accompanied by anxiety that the original ‘Gregorian’ practice had been corrupted.<sup>29</sup> Thus, elite musical traditions in diverse geographical contexts and periods are constituted by an awareness of their (dis)continuity with historical antecedents, making them periodically subject to a discourse of decline and a concomitant effort to (re)inscribe a canonical repertoire or normative theory.

As part of an elite music culture cultivated within a limited circle of musicians and connoisseurs, the Ottoman repertoire was often regarded as being threatened with corruption or

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. Wright 1992b, 156, 179, 201–3; Feldman 1996, 346.

<sup>25</sup> On Cantemir’s categorisation of instrumental works as ‘cedid’, see Wright 2000, 550. For discussion of the divide between ‘ancients’ and ‘moderns’ in Ottoman music theory, see Popescu-Judet 2007, 69–74; Behar 2010, 61–73; Doğrusöz 2015, 83–4. The distinction was already made in the fifteenth century by the theorists Hızır b. ‘Abdullāh and al-Lāḍiqī (Popescu-Judet 2007, 70–72; Wright 1992b, 242).

<sup>26</sup> Feldman 2015.

<sup>27</sup> Butler Schofield 2010.

<sup>28</sup> Glasser 2016, 8–9. Glasser himself draws a parallel here with During’s work on Persian music (During 1994).

<sup>29</sup> Treitler 1974.

loss.<sup>30</sup> Cantemir wrote that during the reign of Mehmed IV (1648–87) ‘the Art of Musick [was] almost forgot’, whilst in his own time, ‘in the spacious City of *Constantinople*, where resides the greatest Court in the World, among so many Musicians and Lovers of Musick, you will scarce find above three or four, who thoroughly understand the grounds of this Art.’<sup>31</sup> A few decades later, Fonton observed that

This science, far from improving [since Cantemir’s time], is declining every day, and it is feared that it may soon be entirely lost ... Because of the lack of notation among the Orientals it is necessary to learn everything orally, and to retain it in memory, which is not within reach of most, and becomes an obstacle to the conservation of the music.<sup>32</sup>

For Fonton, the decline of Ottoman music was directly linked to the conditions of oral transmission, and could be halted or reversed by the adoption of notation. It was not only European observers who saw writing as a useful tool in the preservation of the tradition: as discussed in Chapter Four, from the late seventeenth century a handful of Ottoman musicians used notation to inscribe valuable repertoire for personal use, while writers such as Cantemir and Tanburi Arut‘in believed it would improve the process of transmission as well as being an aid to theoretical discussion.

During the nineteenth century, these ideas were expressed more widely, and with greater ideological fervour, not only in Greek Orthodox and Armenian circles, but also amongst Muslim musicians and intellectuals. Yet for many it was far from self-evident that notation was the surest means of safeguarding the Ottoman repertoire: as Abdülbaki Dede cautioned in 1794, if a student had not received oral instruction from a master, notation ‘may even be an obstacle to their education’.<sup>33</sup> Hence, while the early Armenian reformers and some later commentators may have advocated the use of notation as an instrument of progress or a means of preserving valuable musical repertoire, in reality most Ottoman musicians continued to employ oral teaching methods, and notation often complemented or reinforced existing practices rather than making them obsolete. Indeed, some musicians viewed oral transmission as the most reliable method of preserving the Ottoman repertoire, while notation was perceived as irrelevant or even, as Abdülbaki Dede’s comments imply, harmful to the interests of teachers and students. Such views stemmed not only from doubts regarding the suitability of notation to convey

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. Behar 1987, 48–51.

<sup>31</sup> Cantemir 1734–5, 151n14. Cf. Feldman 2015, 95 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Neubauer 1999, 40–41.

<sup>33</sup> Uslu and Doğrusöz Dişiaçık 2009, 100.



aspects of musical style, but also from deeper concerns about the moral economy of music teaching, or what we might term the ‘ethics of transmission’.

## 7.2. Orality and the Ethics of Musical Transmission

In around 1834, more than two decades after the invention of Hampartsum notation, Süleyman Faik Efendi wrote that

the science of music consists in imitating [the teacher] by listening face-to-face, and because today the old method is out of favour, those students of this science who have beautiful voices do not imitate a master based on a scientific method; [rather,] as soon as they have learned five or ten songs, they think that they have learned the whole of music, and this is how they remain ... Amongst the Muslims there are not three well-trained [musicians], and also because the *meşk hâne* in the imperial palace is currently inactive, no-one is trained there either ... In short, when Hammāmcioglu [İsmail Dede Efendi] passes away, neither will anyone who knows the rules of music remain, nor, in my opinion, will anyone who can sing and compose *bestes* with accompaniment and rhythm remain, and it [music] will die out.<sup>34</sup>

Thus, while he may have shared Cantemir’s and Fonton’s anxiety about the decline of the courtly repertoire, Faik Efendi attributed it not to the absence of notation, but to the neglect of traditional oral teaching methods.

As Cem Behar has shown, *meşk* (or ‘imitating by listening face-to-face’), was a central feature of the Ottoman musical tradition until the twentieth century. It not only functioned as a method of transmitting a repertoire and its associated aesthetic practices, but also helped to maintain social and ethical bonds between musicians.<sup>35</sup> The notion of ‘fidelity’ (*sadakat*) therefore encompassed both loyalty to a teacher in an ethical sense, and fidelity to a performance style, or the way in which repertoire items were taught in a certain lineage of transmission.<sup>36</sup> This confluence of ethical and aesthetic values encouraged careful memorisation of the repertoire and the notion of ‘correct’ or ‘incorrect’ renditions of musical works. As I argued in Chapter Six, evidence of this is seen in the collections themselves, which in their precise reproduction of melodic variants and association of different performance styles with recognised musicians embody the norms and expectations of the oral tradition.

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<sup>34</sup> Süleymān Fā’ik, *Mecmū’a*, f. 92v.

<sup>35</sup> Behar 2006a.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 80–85.

Hence, ideas such as fidelity to an authoritative source, careful preservation of a prestigious and historic repertoire, or the transmission of exact details of performance style were not newly introduced into Ottoman music through the medium of notation, but were part of the culture of oral transmission before the nineteenth century. In the early eighteenth century, for example, Esad Efendi praised certain musicians for their faithful reproduction of the works of the masters of earlier generations.<sup>37</sup> By definition, the *meşk* system placed great emphasis on the capacity to memorise a large number of pieces and to reproduce them in an exact and stylistically authentic manner. A musician's renown was therefore predicated on the volume of works he had memorised and the line(s) of transmission by which he had acquired them, which enhanced both his ability to perform in diverse contexts and his authority as a teacher or tradition bearer.<sup>38</sup>

The use of notation – precisely because of the practical advantages it offered to students – displaced the centrality of the teacher in the transmission process, thereby diminishing his prestige and authority, not to mention any potential material rewards. According to Hacı Emin, the reason that many teachers were opposed to the spread of notation was that ‘they grasped that if their students learned music by means of notation they would learn rapidly, and thus [the teachers] would be as if deprived of their livelihood.’<sup>39</sup> Students who might otherwise be expected to spend many years learning from (and serving) a master musician could, with the aid of notation, acquire a substantial repertoire in a fraction of the time. In the same way, pieces that were regarded as especially difficult or valuable, which would normally have only been taught to select students by an arduous process of repetition and imitation, could with the aid of notation be transmitted in one or two hearings, sometimes without the teacher even being aware.

As we have seen in previous chapters, the Jewish *tanbur* player İsak became enraged when Limōnčean ‘stole’ one of his compositions (which he claimed would be too difficult for Limōnčean to learn) without his knowledge, while similar stories are reported about Nayi Osman Dede and Petros Peloponnēsios, who was given the sobriquet ‘Hırsız’ (‘thief’). Such practices continued to be a source of concern to Ottoman musicians even in the twentieth century: the Armenian convert Mustafa Nuri Efendi (aka Notacı Melekset; d. 1937), for example, was severely chastised by his teacher Bolahenk Nuri Bey (d. 1910) for presuming to

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<sup>37</sup> Idem 2010, 107–11.

<sup>38</sup> Idem 1987, 31 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Hacı Emīn. 1302/1885, 12.

transcribe in ten minutes a *beste* that had taken the latter an entire month to memorise.<sup>40</sup> Practical arguments against notation – that it weakens the student’s ability to memorise, or that it is inadequate to convey nuances of phrasing or intonation – were therefore accompanied by anxieties about the weakening of moral ties between teacher and student and the dissipation of the repertoire that this implied.

Debates about the use of notation had an important ethical dimension, with supporters and detractors both invoking moralistic language to argue their case. For its advocates, failure to adopt notation was not only harmful to the interests of students, but also threatened the continued existence of Ottoman musical traditions. For his part, Limōnčean regarded the corruption of sacred melodies through oral transmission as ‘shameful’ (*amōt*), and described his opponents as ‘poor wretches’ (*xelč*) who disgraced the wider Armenian community by their refusal to accept the reformed notation system.<sup>41</sup> Against their charges of heresy, compounded by his Catholicism, Limōnčean declared that he had ‘taught [Hampartsum notation] before God’ (i.e. with a clear conscience).<sup>42</sup> In the later nineteenth century, Muslim advocates of notation similarly deplored the conservatism of musicians who continued to teach using the *meşk* method, arguing that students were discouraged by its difficulty and the excessive amount of time it required. For Hacı Emin, such teachers were ‘avaricious’ (*harīş*) or ‘bogus’ (*sāhte*), and, ‘the reason for the decline of both [music] enthusiasts and the science of music’.<sup>43</sup>

By contrast, for Limōnčean’s detractors, the reformed notation system was an unwarranted innovation that undermined long-established traditions and challenged the authority of the Church. His main adversary, the cantor Elisē (1770–1833), was, according to Angeley, ‘the leader of those who maintained that [Hampartsum] notation was impure (*pilc*) and its use in churches indecent (*anvayeluč*)’.<sup>44</sup> Concerns about the moral implications of using notation were shared by Muslim musicians during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ali Rifat, for example, reported that ‘there were at one time very great objections to notation, and the view that it should not be accepted was even favoured’<sup>45</sup>, while another late Ottoman commentator observed that notation was once ‘regarded by the majority as the enemy of the science of music’.<sup>46</sup> Perhaps counterintuitively, then, notation was viewed by many not

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<sup>40</sup> Behar 1987, 45–6.

<sup>41</sup> Cited in Angeley 1903, 79 and Hisarlean 1914, 57. See Chapter Two for further discussion.

<sup>42</sup> In Angeley 1903, 80. Cf. Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 87–8.

<sup>43</sup> Hacı Emīn. 1302/1885, 12, 15.

<sup>44</sup> Angeley 1903, 79. See also Hisarlean 1914, 28–30.

<sup>45</sup> ‘Alī Rif’at 1311–12/1895–6, 10.

<sup>46</sup> Cited in İnal 1958, 25–6.

as a means of preserving Ottoman musical traditions, but as a threat to their integrity and continuity.

Consequently, although Hampartsum notation may have become more widespread than previous notation systems, it was by no means universally accepted. As I argued in Chapter Five, a limited number of Mevlevis adopted Hampartsum notation from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, yet the most important Mevlevi musician of the late nineteenth century, Zekai Dede (1825–97), together with the Rifai *şeyh* and music teacher Halim Efendi (1824–97), ‘were of the opinion that music notation was absolutely unnecessary’.<sup>47</sup> The statistical evidence discussed in the previous chapter also indicates that Hampartsum notation was used by a relatively small number of Ottoman musicians, even after it became more popular in the late nineteenth century. Indeed, as late as 1872, Tntesean complained that ‘there are still barely twenty people in the [Armenian] nation who teach [Hampartsum notation] systematically, and a few foreigners.’<sup>48</sup>

A further reason for the limited dissemination of Hampartsum notation was that, like previous notation methods, it often reflected the idiosyncrasies of individual scribes, rather than providing – as the reformers had hoped – an impersonal and standardised means of transmission. Thus, instead of leading to greater uniformity, Hampartsum notation reproduced the heterogeneity that the reformers had sought to suppress. According to Hacı Emin’s account,

a music teacher named Hārpārsūm [sic] invented a kind of notation that was written with Armenian letters on plain paper, which was particular to himself, and wrote down the works of the composers who existed at that time. However, this notation, being particular to the aforementioned person, and not having a complete set of signs like European notation, was esteemed by very few people, and the teachers who taught it took to writing it according to their own ideas. Consequently, because it was difficult to read and play from, not one in a thousand music enthusiasts learned this notation, and for these reasons our music remained at this point, that is, without notation.<sup>49</sup>

Since Hampartsum notation was adapted to the differing practices of individual musicians, it was insufficient to learn the repertoire without recourse to an oral source. As Mehmed Veled observed:

It happens that a musician may sing a composition in a perfect manner as he has notated it. The reason for this is none other than the signs particular to himself that he set down during the course of writing, [aided by] the fullness of his aural memory until he notated

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<sup>47</sup> Ezgi, 1933–53, I, 5.

<sup>48</sup> Tntesean 1874, 88. The essay was originally published two years earlier.

<sup>49</sup> Hacı Emīn. 1302/1885, 9–10.

it. Because sometimes it is observed that another musician cannot sing from that musician's notation in such a perfect manner; even more, it is seen that, because of its peculiarities, anybody at all who picks up the notation after a short period of time is completely unable to read it.<sup>50</sup>

Similarly, although Edhem Efendi suggests that notation can help students to learn pieces or can be consulted in case they have been forgotten, he goes on to caution that

However well notation is learned, a teacher is necessary in order to sing a *beste* or a *şarkı* in its particular style. Notation only records the *makām*; it is not possible to write the manner (*şīve*) [of performance] at the same time. Receiving [the piece] at least five or ten times from the mouth of a master is a necessity.<sup>51</sup>

Despite the partial institutionalisation of Hampartsum notation, continued reliance on oral transmission was also common within the Armenian Church. According to Pierre Aubry, who carried out field research in Istanbul and eastern Anatolia at the turn of the twentieth century, most cantors continued to sing from memory, and if they did use notated hymnals considered them 'a means of conserving the musical text, an element of study and apprenticeship, but still a means and not an end.'<sup>52</sup>

The idiosyncratic use of Hampartsum notation and the necessity of an accompanying oral model meant that it remained largely inaccessible to outsiders, much in the same way as the 'secret signs' described by European observers in the late eighteenth century (see Chapter Four). This, again, was contrary to the intentions of the reformers, who had aimed to make the process of learning music easier and more accessible for students. Yet it was consonant with the values of the existing oral tradition to use notation not in order to disseminate one's repertoire to a wider public, but, on the contrary, to shield it from outsiders.<sup>53</sup> Such attitudes stemmed from professional rivalry as well as the ethics of the *meşk* system, which encouraged close personal ties between teachers and students.

The practice of concealing valued repertoire from rivals or unworthy students was so prevalent that, according to Mehmed Veled, it was almost proverbial: 'since ancient times the experts [in music] have regarded concealment and reticence as being among the requisites of

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<sup>50</sup> In Behar 1987, 62–3.

<sup>51</sup> Edhem Efendi 1307/1890, c. Also cited in Behar 1992, 43.

<sup>52</sup> Aubry 1901–03, 136–7. See Kerovpyan 2015, 2014a, 2012, 2001b and idem 1995 for reflections on literate and oral transmission within Armenian church music.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Behar 1987, 25. See also Glasser 2016, 165–73.

science ... This is known by everyone and has practically attained the status of a proverb.’<sup>54</sup> Likewise, Ali Rifat complained that ‘in our times the most important musical works are guarded by masters and are not published’.<sup>55</sup> As mentioned earlier, Hacı Emin reported that some musicians had their own and others’ compositions recorded in notation so that they might not be forgotten. However,

some greedy instrumentalists ... after taking many *akçes* from those who wished [to learn] the above-mentioned pieces, with the possessive thought “let others not have the [pieces] that I have”, taught them incorrectly and deficiently, so that those beautiful works came to the point of being destroyed.<sup>56</sup>

It was not only memorised repertoire or notated texts that were hoarded by Ottoman musicians: knowledge of notation itself was a carefully guarded secret, as it had been before the nineteenth century. Tntesean’s analysis of the reasons behind the limited dissemination of Hampartsum notation highlights the alleged difficulty of adapting it to the modal and rhythmic system of Ottoman music, but also

the jealousy of the teachers, who did not wish to teach it, and imposed heavy conditions [on their students]; and, as we have said, there not being an easy teaching method, the poor students struggled fruitlessly for years and could not finish, until the point that they even had to take oaths not to teach others, especially foreigners.<sup>57</sup>

Since knowledge of notation was relatively uncommon, it was regarded as esoteric and – as several commentators emphasised – difficult to learn, making it a potentially lucrative skill. Musicians who knew notation, a majority of whom happened to be Armenian, had a number of professional advantages: as teachers of a specialised technique, and in terms of their access to rare written sources, which increased the size and value of their repertoire. Those who were especially competent at transcribing music were given the epithet ‘notacı’ (‘notator’), which later also came to include publishers of sheet music.<sup>58</sup> Armenian musicians thus adopted a proprietary attitude towards Hampartsum notation, regarding it as a kind of ‘trade secret’ which, at the same time, was a marker of ethno-religious identity and, for intellectuals such as Tntesean or Hiwrmiwzean, of Armenian nationhood.

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<sup>54</sup> In Behar 1987, 62–3.

<sup>55</sup> ‘Ali Rif’ at 1311–12/1895–6, 10.

<sup>56</sup> Hacı Emīn. 1302/1885, 12.

<sup>57</sup> Tntesean 1874, 88–9.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 96. Cf. Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 103; Erol 2003, 105.

Hence, although there was increased contact between Armenian and Muslim musicians in the late nineteenth century relative to earlier periods, the circulation of Hampartsum notation was still restricted by social and linguistic factors. As Hacı Emin's comments demonstrate, Muslim musicians were not well informed about the origins of the notation system, believing it to be based on the Armenian alphabet (a misconception which persists in Turkey to the present). The foreignness of the script (both musical and textual), combined with wider socio-religious differences and the secrecy surrounding musical transmission, meant that Hampartsum notation remained inaccessible or at least obscure to the majority of Muslim musicians.

Nonetheless, the fact that collections of Hampartsum notation compiled by Muslim Turks exist at all demonstrates that the notation system was in some instances taught to outsiders: as Tntesean acknowledged, there were 'a few foreigners' who had learned the method. Moreover, there is some evidence of textual contact across communal boundaries. The Muslim scribe of AM1537, for example, must have had access to a collection in Armenian script, since he copied out Armenian letters found alongside the notation.<sup>59</sup> Conversely, one of the later Armenian scribes of ST1 explicitly notes that a piece had been copied from a manuscript belonging to Raşid Efendi.<sup>60</sup>

However, it is not clear how scribes had access to manuscripts that usually circulated within another socio-linguistic group. To be sure, Armenians studied and performed music with Muslim Turks and vice versa, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Before this period, however, highly valued written sources may not have been exchanged so readily, not least because texts in Armenian script were incomprehensible to most, if not all, Muslim musicians. As I pointed out in Chapter Five, notated manuscripts circulated as commodities amongst private collectors, and Muslim music aficionados may have purchased manuscripts in Armenian script without fully understanding their contents. This situation changed somewhat in the twentieth century, as individual Armenian and Muslim-Turkish musicians developed close personal ties, and figures such as Refik Fersan (1893–1965) and Suphi Ezgi (1869–1962) learned to decipher the Armenian script in order to transcribe collections of Ottoman music that had come into their possession.<sup>61</sup> Yet the means by which

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<sup>59</sup> AM1537, pp. 32–4.

<sup>60</sup> ST1, p. 181.

<sup>61</sup> Ezgi made transliterations into Latin script of the headings in Armenian script in NE203. Fersan made transliterations of Armeno-Turkish titles and lyrics in NE206, one of a large number of collections compiled by his (Armenian) teacher, Levon Hancıyan (1857–1947), many of which Fersan transcribed while employed by Turkish Radio and Television (TRT). See Bardakçı 1995, 35, 38.

such manuscripts arrived in private or public libraries were shrouded in the mists of oral history, sometimes accompanied by rumours of theft or deception.<sup>62</sup>

By the late nineteenth century, while Hampartsum notation was still obscure to many Muslim musicians, for a limited group of Mevlevi and other initiates it had become a familiar element of musical study. Once the notation method had been learned by a handful of individuals within this community, possibly as early as the 1840s, it could be transmitted to subsequent generations without Armenian intermediaries. The separation of Armenian and Muslim lines of textual transmission is demonstrated both by patterns of repertoire dissemination and by differing scribal conventions, despite occasional intertextual contacts as described above. Indeed, the notation system had been so fully assimilated by some Muslim musicians that it was referred to as ‘Turkish’ (*alaturka*) notation, as opposed to ‘European’ (*alafranga*) staff notation.<sup>63</sup>

This did not escape the attention of Tntesean, who observed:

Finally, this notation system reached a position that was inaccessible to both sides: it was fit neither to meet the requirements of Armenian music nor of Turkish, and today Armenians call it ‘Armenian notation’ without knowing what characteristics it has which can be called Armenian, while Turks call it ‘Ottoman notation’, supposing that it was created for themselves, without considering why it is written from left to right or how the note-symbols with Armenian shapes became Turkish.<sup>64</sup>

The identification of Hampartsum notation as ‘*alaturka*’ was based in part on (perhaps wilful) ignorance about the origins of the notation system and the tendency of the dominant ethno-religious group to assimilate other elements of society to itself, strengthened by the impulse of early Turkish nationalism. At the same time, it reflects the increasing influence of a binary discourse that divided the world into ‘Ottoman/Turkish’ and ‘European’ civilisations, which, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, shaped political and intellectual debate as much as social relations and cultural practices.

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<sup>62</sup> See e.g. Öztuna 1990, I, 327; Bardakçı 1995, 38, 61. See also Ezgi 1933–53, I, 4; *ibid.*, V, 530.

<sup>63</sup> ‘Alī Rif’ at 1311–12/1895–6, 10; Taḳīyü’-d-Dīn Meḥmed Emīn Ālī, *Mūsīka-yı hümayūn tārīḫi*, f. 99v. Cf. Edhem Efendi 1307/1890, c.

<sup>64</sup> Tntesean 1874, 89–90.



### 7.3. *Alaturka* and *Alafranga*: Towards the Republic

The concepts of *alaturka* and *alafranga* in the late Ottoman Empire signified two sets of value systems and socio-cultural habits that were perceived to be mutually opposed: on the one hand those that were seen as established, local, and ‘Ottoman/Turkish’, and on the other those that were new, imported and ‘European’. This dualism was present in the broadest terms in the form of polemical debates about the suitability of European institutions – constitutional, legal, economic – for the progress of the empire in the modern world.<sup>65</sup> But the *alaturka*–*alafranga* divide was perhaps most pertinent in the realms of social and cultural practice, ranging from customs of dress, eating and furnishing to timekeeping and artistic production.<sup>66</sup> As John Morgan O’Connell has shown, it was also a central theme of musical debates in the transitional period between the late empire and early republic.<sup>67</sup>

Hampartsum notation occupied a somewhat ambiguous position between *alaturka* and *alafranga* worlds, and thus highlights the blurred boundaries between these two discursive constructs.<sup>68</sup> As I have argued above, the notation system was in important ways a constituent part of the ‘modern’ or ‘progressive’ discourses that circulated amongst Ottoman intellectuals in the nineteenth century. Yet it was not an imported European technology, but emerged from within the local Armenian community, and was subsequently adopted by Mevlevi and other Muslim musicians. Moreover, rather than effecting a shift to a literate music culture and thereby becoming the instrument of progress that the early reformers had hoped, it was adapted to the social and musical practices that surrounded the culture of oral transmission.

The perception of Hampartsum notation as a local technology was reinforced by the insistence of its advocates (both Armenian and Muslim) that it was well suited to the nuances of ‘eastern’ music, and by the concern of Armenian reformers to demonstrate that it was a legitimate innovation within the traditions of the Church. Muslim Turks appropriated the notation system by labelling it *alaturka*, partly – at least in the case of Ali Rifat – to demonstrate the existence of a suitably modern yet indigenous system of music theory, complete with a means of written transmission. For Hacı Emin, however, whose aim was to promote the use of staff notation, the distinction between *alaturka* and *alafranga* consisted simply in the presence or absence of notation: the *alaturka* method of transmission, as he observed, was laboriously to

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<sup>65</sup> Hanioglu 2008; Özdalga 2005; Deringil 2011; Berkes 1998, 349 ff.; Mardin 1962.

<sup>66</sup> Mardin 1974; Findley 1998b; Samancı 2013; Boyar and Fleet 2010, 271–327; Wishnitzer 2010; Shaw 2011.

<sup>67</sup> O’Connell 2013, 2005, 2000.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Wishnitzer 2010, 58–9. See also Esenbel 1994.

learn a composition through repeated listening and imitation.<sup>69</sup> The association of Hampartsum notation with practices that were closely linked to the *meşk* tradition, such as idiosyncrasy, secrecy and loyalty to an individual teacher, placed it in opposition to the imported technology of staff notation. Hacı Emin therefore portrays it as belonging more to the obscure, backward world of *alaturka* habits than to the technologically superior tradition of *alafranga* music.

Up to a certain point, Hampartsum notation was regarded by both Armenian and Muslim commentators as a step towards the rationalisation and modernisation of Ottoman musical traditions. For Tntesean or Ali Rifat, conversant with both *alafranga* and *alaturka* notation, Hampartsum notation was a viable alternative to staff notation for the transcription of Ottoman music. However, there were a number of factors that contributed to a divergence between the histories of the two notation systems, and which eventually resulted in the decline of Hampartsum notation and the far more widespread adoption of staff notation in the early Turkish Republic. This divergence had to do less with the inherent qualities of the notation systems themselves as methods of transcription (despite a certain amount of rhetoric to this effect amongst Ottoman and Turkish musicians) and more with the institutional, social and cultural contexts in which they were utilised. In this regard, there are three main factors that require consideration: firstly, the institutionalisation of musical education; secondly, the impact of print technology; and thirdly, the respective cultural associations of each writing system.

The use of staff notation in the Ottoman Empire was directly linked to the drive to modernise the state and military, having been introduced with the creation of the Imperial Band under Donizetti in 1828.<sup>70</sup> The western-oriented divisions of the *muzika-yı hümayun*, which included an orchestra and a brass band, provided an institutional basis for the teaching of staff notation that was supported by the Porte and was in line with the policy of top-down modernisation.<sup>71</sup> In the early twentieth century, private and state-sponsored music schools and societies proliferated, while the modernising policies of the CUP and Kemalist regimes ensured that official institutions of musical education emphasised instruction in staff notation.<sup>72</sup> By contrast, as I argued in Chapters Two and Five, Hampartsum notation never enjoyed state patronage. It did, on the other hand, undergo a limited degree of institutionalisation at a local level through its use within the Mevlevi order, and more importantly through its adoption by

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<sup>69</sup> Hacı Emīn. 1302/1885, 9.

<sup>70</sup> Aracı 2006; Spinetti 2010; Gazimihal 1955, 41 ff.

<sup>71</sup> See Gazimihal 1955, 98–104; Alimdar 2016, 85–154 and Toker 2016, 261–88 for a description of the institutional structure of the *muzika-yı hümayun*.

<sup>72</sup> O’Connell 2000; Özalp 1986, I, 81–91; Özden 2015, 2014, 2013b; Güçtekin 2015, 2014; Alimdar 2016, 306–56, 422–30.

the Armenian Church. By the 1920s, however, the active persecution and marginalisation of the Armenian community and the closure of the Sufi lodges meant that the institutions that might have supported the wider dissemination of Hampartsum notation were in severe (if not terminal) decline.

A second reason for the ascendancy of staff notation was its compatibility with print technology. The development of music printing in the Ottoman Empire was shaped by technological and financial limitations. The publication of Bžškean's treatise itself was most likely prevented, as Kerovpyan suggests, by the absence of types for Hampartsum notation.<sup>73</sup> Similarly, as Behar has noted, although Haşim Bey promised readers of his lyric anthology in 1864 that the songs would subsequently be published in staff notation, the fact that this never materialised was probably due to the lack of an easily accessible means of printing music.<sup>74</sup> The earliest Ottoman notation tutor, *Miftāh-ı noṭa* (1874), was printed using a highly amateurish and poor-quality lithograph.<sup>75</sup> Indeed, even as late as the 1890s, Ali Rifat noted that the publication of his lesson series had been delayed because of 'the absence amongst us of publishers who can print notation'.<sup>76</sup> The publication of music, then, required a substantial investment of financial and technological resources, and for this reason was undertaken either with institutional support, or as a potentially risky business venture.

Although it is widely believed that Ottoman music was published in staff notation for the first time in around 1875 by Hacı Emin<sup>77</sup>, Armenians had already been publishing in this medium for over 15 years. According to Hisarlean,

Aristakēs Yovhannēsean's monthly journal *K'nar Arewelean* ['Eastern Lyre'] was published in European notation in 1858 (beginning on 1 May) and was a collection of *fasıls* (*taksim*, *peşrev*, *semai*, *şarkı*). It was the intention of the publisher to introduce a taste for Eastern music amongst Europeans, for which reason Aristakēs made a massive investment of 10,000 *kuruş*. Unfortunately, since the cost of that journal (40–60 *kuruş*)

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<sup>73</sup> K'erovbean 1997, 38.

<sup>74</sup> Behar 1987, 42. Cf. Hāşim Beğ 1280/1864, 87. Behar is incorrect, however, to assert that no such press existed in Istanbul at this date (see *infra*).

<sup>75</sup> Aḥmed Rif'at and Kānūnī Ḥasan Dede 1291/1874. Another notation tutor, *Uşûl-i noṭa*, was published a year later, this time with better quality printing ([Hüseyn Remzî] 1292/1875; the author attribution, which is not given on the title page, is provided by Yalçın 2014, 46). *Miftāh-ı noṭa* presents a hybrid notation system that spells out solfeggio syllables instead of indicating pitch by vertical placement. Duration is indicated by bar lines and beams below the syllables. A similar solfeggio-based system is used in an anonymous lyric anthology, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Or. Oct. 1578, ff. 29v–30r. Wright (1992b, 288) tentatively dates the manuscript to the eighteenth century, but the notation (in a later hand) presumably dates from the mid or late nineteenth century.

<sup>76</sup> 'Alī Rif'at 1311–12/1895–6, 10.

<sup>77</sup> See e.g. Alaner 1986, 15; Paçacı 2010, 218; Jäger 2006b, 67; Behar 1987, 42; Alimdar 2016, 439. Ekinci has identified a slightly earlier example, published by Polish immigrant to Istanbul, but which nonetheless cannot date from before 1871 (Ekinci 2015, 36).

was not easily attainable for the average class of person, he suffered great losses, contrary to his expectations.<sup>78</sup>

The case of *K'nar Arewelean* illustrates the nature of Ottoman music printing as a capitalist activity, and at the same time reveals the intended market of such publications. As Hisarlean makes clear, publications in staff notation were intended not for 'the average class of person', but primarily for affluent Europeans and Levantines and well-to-do, Francophone Ottomans from the higher ranks of urban society.<sup>79</sup> For this reason, they were prohibitively expensive – Ali Rifat also complained that musical works were sold 'at unbelievably high prices by some publishers of notation'<sup>80</sup> – and typically included piano accompaniment and a transliteration into Latin script.<sup>81</sup> In an attempt to maximise their potential readership, musical periodicals such as *K'nar Arewelean* and *Ösmanean Eražštut'awn* ('Ottoman music', 1863), both published by Armenians, provided translations into Ottoman Turkish, Greek and French.<sup>82</sup>

The use of staff notation in Ottoman music was thus closely connected to the growth of print capitalism, and was an aspect of the late nineteenth-century phenomenon that Edhem Eldem has termed 'Levantine cosmopolitanism'.<sup>83</sup> As the Ottoman Empire became increasingly entangled with European economic and political networks, local bureaucratic and mercantile elites from diverse ethno-religious backgrounds shared a common fascination with western – and especially French – civilisation. Given their long-standing involvement in commerce and their connections with Europe, Armenians were well positioned to profit from this environment, and played a key role in the emergence of new forms of urban entertainment which centred on European-style theatre and operetta.<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, as we have seen, they were at the forefront

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<sup>78</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 71–2. Cf. Angeleay 1903, 81. A number of similar publications appeared in the 1860s and 1870s: see Bilal 2013, 165–6 and Mildanoğlu 2014, 33, 37, 40, 44, 48. Paçacı (based on comments by Kevork Pamukciyan) mentions some of these periodicals, but does not seem to be aware of the fact that they contain notation (Paçacı 2010, 180). Başer mistakenly claims that *K'nar Arewelean* was the first publication in Hampartsum notation (Başer 2014, 15).

<sup>79</sup> As Eldem notes, foreign residents – most of whom were Europeans living in the districts of Galata and Pera – made up around 15% of the population of Istanbul at the turn of the twentieth century (Eldem 2013b, 221). On the use of French amongst Ottoman elites in the later nineteenth century, see *ibid.*, 212–3.

<sup>80</sup> 'Ali Rif' at 1311–12/1895–6, 10.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Behar 1987, 42–3; Jäger 2006b.

<sup>82</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 85; Bilal 2013, 166. According to Mildanoğlu's catalogue of Armenian periodicals, seven issues of *Ösmanean Eražštut'awn/Mūsikī-yi* [sic] '*osmānī*' appeared in 1863 (Mildanoğlu 2014, 40). The cover of issues 5–7 (May–July 1863) is reproduced in Bilal 2013, 283. Cf. Salzmann 2012, 80 ff.; Arslan 2014, 348.

<sup>83</sup> Eldem 2013b.

<sup>84</sup> And 1976, 14–41; Mestyan 2011; Tahmizian 2001; Arslan 2014.

of efforts to create a local market for notated music – indeed, many other Ottoman music publications, including those of Hacı Emin, were handled by Armenian printing houses.<sup>85</sup>

The pioneer of Ottoman music printing, Aristakēs Yovhannēsean (1812–78), was himself a student of Limōnčean.<sup>86</sup> There was, then, no fundamental divide in the nineteenth century between ‘conservative’ advocates of Hampartsum notation and ‘progressive’ supporters of staff notation, as I have argued above. However, there were a number of reasons why Hampartsum notation did not translate so easily into the world of print capitalism. Most importantly, the potential market for printed music in Hampartsum notation was less promising than that for staff notation. Publications in staff notation not only were aimed at the most affluent sector of Ottoman society, but also, precisely because of their appeal to a ‘cosmopolitan’ milieu, benefited from the perception that they were not intended for any particular ethno-religious group. Hampartsum notation, on the other hand, was used principally by Armenian cantors, while the small number of Muslims – mostly Mevlevīs – who had adopted the notation system were not inclined to disseminate it beyond a limited circle of initiates. Neither group was especially wealthy. In business terms, printing music in Hampartsum notation was simply a riskier opportunity, whose costs outweighed its profitability.

For this reason, the only significant publications in Hampartsum notation were those that were dependent on the financial support of the Armenian Church, and which were intended for a very limited market of Armenian church singers. Indeed, even Armenian publications with a proto-nationalist orientation, such as collections of folk songs, were printed using staff notation.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, most publications in Hampartsum notation, including liturgical song books as well as instruction manuals, were published not in the Ottoman capital, but in Vałaršapat (Ējmiacin), the seat of the Catholicos (then located in the Russian Empire).<sup>88</sup> This suggests that they had little relation to local markets in Istanbul, and were viable only due to the institutional patronage of the Catholicosate.

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<sup>85</sup> According to Johann Strauss, the majority of printing presses in Istanbul were run by non-Muslims even as late as 1914 (Strauss 2005, 226). Of 156 printing presses registered by Istanbul Municipality in 1915, the largest number (49) were owned by Armenians (ibid, 244n5).

<sup>86</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 18–19.

<sup>87</sup> Bilal 2013, 166.

<sup>88</sup> These include the official hymnal (1875), breviary (1877) and missal (1878) (see Utidjian 2011–2012, 65), and the tutors for Hampartsum notation published by T‘aşčean (1874) and Erznkeanc‘ (1880). Tntesean’s hymnal and tutor (both using Hampartsum notation) were published posthumously in Istanbul during the early Republican period (Tntesean 1933, 1934). According to Kerovpyan and Yılmaz, collections of Armenian sacred music in Hampartsum notation were not published within the territories of the Ottoman Empire until 1898 (Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 102). Although they state that there are no known examples of secular Ottoman music printed in Hampartsum notation, a military march (with parallel score in staff notation) was published in the journal *Sāz u Sōz* in 1326/1910 (see Paçacı 2010, 182).

Printed tutors in Ottoman Turkish for students of staff notation, which multiplied after 1880, were often produced by musicians associated with the *musika-yı hümayun*.<sup>89</sup> As a teacher at this institution, Hacı Emin used his position to promote the use of staff notation through his instruction manual *Noṭa mu‘allimi* (1885), which boasted in its foreword the endorsement of Sermüezzın Rifat Bey, one of the ‘colonels of the Imperial Band’.<sup>90</sup> It also included a letter of approval from the Armenian musician Levon Hancıyan, described simply as ‘a teacher of notation and music’, and was printed at an Armenian press.<sup>91</sup> While Hacı Emin’s advocacy of staff notation in this semi-official medium can be read at least in part as an extension of the state’s cultural policy, it also happened to coincide with his own business interests, as well as those of his Armenian printer. His impassioned plea for Ottoman musicians to adopt staff notation thus stemmed not only from ideological conviction, but was also intended to bolster his status as the most successful publisher of music in late nineteenth-century Istanbul. As I have argued above, and as Hacı Emin himself emphasises, there were real economic interests at stake in debates about the most effective method of transmitting the Ottoman repertoire.

Hence, the degree and type of institutional support that different notation systems received contributed to their different trajectories in the world of commercial music printing. This related not only to institutions that were directly connected to musical education, but also to the larger issues that shaped the dynamic between state-led and market-led Ottoman print culture. Manuals of staff notation such as *Noṭa mu‘allimi* bore the imprimatur, both figuratively and literally, of the Ottoman state, since their publication required the approval of the Ministry of Education.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, they were typically published in Turkish (in Arabic script), which was adopted as the official language of the Ottoman Empire in 1876, and thus, in principle at least, were accessible to all ethno-religious communities.<sup>93</sup> Publications in the Armenian

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<sup>89</sup> See e.g. Kāzım [Uz] 1311/1896; Meḥmed Zātī 1315/1897a; idem 1315/1897b. See also Alımdar 2016, 455–68; Özden 2015, 151–68; idem 2013a and Paçacı 2010, 115 ff. The publication of such instruction manuals, including also instrument tutors, contributed to a new – i.e. more autonomous and less relational – approach to music learning, particularly in the early twentieth century: see Paçacı 2015a and Behar 1992, 104–107.

<sup>90</sup> Hacı Emīn. 1302/1885, 5.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, 3. The tutor was printed by Kevork Zartaryan (1834–88). According to Teotig’s history of Armenian printing (originally published in 1912), Zartaryan and Hacı Emin developed a lithographic technique for printing staff notation and published 31 volumes of music together (Teotig 2012, 128). Cf. Pamukciyan 2002–2003, III, 91–2.

<sup>92</sup> Notation tutors approved by the Ministry of Education bear the imprimatur ‘ma‘ārif nezāret-i celīlesiniñ ruḥsatiyle ṭab‘ olınmışdır’ (‘printed with the permission of the illustrious Ministry of Education’). On the approach of the Ministry towards music education, see Özden 2015, 2014.

<sup>93</sup> According to a list of works approved by the Ministry of Education (published in 1893), 22 publications related to music were approved between 1874 and 1891. Of these, 13 were in Ottoman Turkish, 4 in Greek, 3 in Armenian and 1 in Arabic (1 is unspecified). See Özden 2013a, 96–9; cf. idem 2015, 166–8. The list appears to

language or script, on the other hand, were less widely understood, and were private or communal enterprises rather than state-led projects. Furthermore, in the censorship-prone and increasingly politicised public sphere of Hamidian-era Istanbul, they were more likely to arouse the suspicions of the Ottoman authorities.<sup>94</sup> Indeed, Tntesean (who was himself a professional printer) died in prison as a result of publishing a collection of ‘national’ Armenian songs in 1880.<sup>95</sup>

Printing in staff notation enjoyed a golden age in early twentieth-century Istanbul, supported by the proliferation of music schools and societies and the concomitant increase in the number of amateur music students. Many of these institutions, or the musicians who managed and taught at them, were also involved in music printing, providing instruction books and repertoire for a rapidly growing market.<sup>96</sup> In the early Republican era, official institutions such as the Darülelhan (founded in 1912) were instrumental in inscribing and disseminating a canon of Ottoman (or ‘Turkish’) music in staff notation.<sup>97</sup> Thus, a combination of technologisation, marketisation and state support meant that staff notation became an instrument of musical literacy on a scale that dwarfed the largely personalised, manuscript-based dissemination of Hampartsum notation.

The third, and perhaps most important, factor that differentiated the historical trajectories of staff notation and Hampartsum notation was the cultural associations of each writing system. As is evident from the preceding discussion, these associations were a pervasive influence that also determined the ways in which the notation methods were institutionalised and technologised. Despite the fact that it was adopted by some Muslim musicians, Hampartsum notation remained closely linked to the Armenian community, both from a practical point of view, and in terms of the way it was perceived amongst Ottoman musicians. For Armenians, Hampartsum notation was known simply as ‘church notation’ or ‘Armenian notation’, reflecting its close association with the central institution of communal life, and its status as a marker of Armenian (national) identity. While some Muslims may have been unaware of the

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be incomplete, since it does not include a number of other publications from this period (all in Ottoman Turkish) that bear the Ministry’s imprimatur.

<sup>94</sup> Ter Minassian 1997b, 28–9. For a contextualisation and more nuanced reading of censorship in the Hamidian era, see Boyar 2006.

<sup>95</sup> Hisarlean 1914, 113–5; Teotig 2012, 136. As Bilal points out, a number of Armenians in other provinces of the empire were imprisoned on the grounds of performing or owning songbooks containing ‘pernicious songs and marches’ (Bilal 2013, 169n38). On Tntesean’s career as a printer, see Teotig 2012, 135–6.

<sup>96</sup> See e.g. Güçtekin 2014, 6–7.

<sup>97</sup> O’Connell 2000, 121, 133–6; Özcan 2007, 470.

origins of the notation system, others, such as Hacı Emin, perceived it as identical with the Armenian script.

By contrast, although staff notation was clearly associated with European civilisation, it was more neutral in the sense that it was not linked to a particular ethno-religious group within the empire. Thus, while staff notation was used by Ottoman musicians of all backgrounds, Hampartsum notation was never adopted in Greek Orthodox or Jewish music circles.<sup>98</sup> The ‘foreign’ origin of staff notation therefore contributed to its more widespread acceptance. Furthermore, Hampartsum notation was perceived as a more localised technology, which, in the *alaturka–alafranga* debate, meant that it was bracketed with ‘eastern’ cultural practices. This proved to be a fatal disadvantage as the drive to westernise and modernise intensified with the founding of the Republic, and practices that were reminiscent of the imperial past were rejected as obstacles to progress. Staff notation, conversely, was a symbol of the modern, civilised, Eurocentric world order to which the Republican intelligentsia felt that Turkey now belonged. It was therefore ideally suited to the task of inscribing a musical canon that would demonstrate the credentials of the Republic as a modern nation-state.<sup>99</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century, as Ottoman intellectuals began to engage with the emerging discipline of musicology in Europe, they adopted the ‘scientific’ medium of staff notation. Foremost among them were Komitas Vardapet (1869–1935) and Rauf Yekta (1871–1935), the founders of modern Armenian and Turkish musicology, respectively.<sup>100</sup> Almost exact contemporaries, both were intimately familiar with Hampartsum notation: Yekta through his training as a Mevlevi musician, and Komitas as a church singer. But although the latter used Hampartsum notation to transcribe hundreds of melodies by hand, in his published works he chose staff notation as the appropriate medium for a modern, national music that disavowed its ‘oriental’ origins.<sup>101</sup> Alternatively, in much of his scholarly work he focused on medieval neumes, which were untainted by recent ‘foreign’ influences and testified to the antiquity of the Armenian musical tradition. Komitas’ approach had a profound affect on Armenian musicology in the later twentieth century, as communist and nationalist ideologies fostered the continuing

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<sup>98</sup> Pace Erol 2015, 108.

<sup>99</sup> There is a large literature on music, nationalism and modernisation in the early Republican period: see e.g. O’Connell 2013, 2005, 2000; Balkılıç 2009; Sağlam 2009; Değirmenci 2006; Tekelioğlu 2001, 1996; Paçacı 1999; Greve 1995; Stokes 1992, 20–49.

<sup>100</sup> For further information about Komitas’ life and works, see Bilal 2013, 95–144; Yıldız 2016, 101–123; Alajaji 2015, 25–55; Kerovpyan and Yılmaz 2010, 139–43; Poladian 1972; Vagramian-Nishanian 1981; Soulahian Kuyumjian 2001. On Rauf Yekta, see Özcan 2007; Erguner 2003 and Bardakçı 1986b.

<sup>101</sup> For descriptions of Komitas’ use of Hampartsum notation, see Bilal 2013, 115; Poladian 1972, 84, 95n1 and Soulahian Kuyumjian 2001, 28.



rejection of elements associated with the Ottoman past. In this environment, Hampartsum notation lost relevance amongst all but a handful of church singers in Istanbul and interested scholars.

For Rauf Yekta, Hampartsum notation was similarly a useful private means of transcription, but was not suitable for the project of creating a national musical tradition.<sup>102</sup> While this was due in large part to the perception of staff notation as a more scientific and widely legible technology, it was also related to the obviously non-Turkish origins of Hampartsum notation. Although it may have been referred to as ‘Turkish’ in some contexts, usually as a means of incorporating it into a monoethnic historical narrative, Yekta was well aware that the notation system was closely linked to the Armenian community. Indeed, he contrasted Hampartsum notation with more ancient ‘Turkish’ notation methods, and in 1919 devised a new writing system that was structurally identical to Hampartsum notation but replaced the Armenian *xaz* with Arabic letters.<sup>103</sup> A few years later, on the eve of the founding of the Republic, Hampartsum notation was not deemed sufficiently Turkish to warrant inclusion in Yekta’s seminal article ‘La musique turque’.<sup>104</sup>

The fate of Hampartsum notation in Ottoman/Turkish music was thus comparable to that of the Armenian script in relation to the Turkish language. In the late nineteenth century, while the Ottomanist ideal of supra-confessional citizenship was still regarded as a practicable possibility, both writing systems were seen as unproblematic – indeed, advantageous – technologies amongst leading Muslim musicians and intellectuals. However, with the rise of the intertwined currents of ethno-nationalism and westernisation in the early twentieth century, the Latin script and staff notation came to seem both more neutral and more suitably oriented

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<sup>102</sup> On Yekta’s use of Hampartsum notation, see Paçacı 2012, 15 and Erguner 2003, 35 (who mentions that he also taught the system to Suphi Ezgi).

<sup>103</sup> Yekta asserted that ‘long before Hampartsum notation, we Turks also had notation, and with this notation thousands of ancient Turkish works were written down which exist to this day’ (Ra’ûf Yektâ 1328/1912, 13; translit. in Öncel 2010, 107). In his instruction manual entitled *Türk noçası ile kıra’at-i müsikiye dersleri* (‘Lessons in music reading with Turkish notation’, 1335/1919), Yekta described his newly invented writing system (which, unlike Hampartsum notation, was sinistrongrade) as ‘national notation’ (*millî nota*). See Paçacı 2015b for a transliteration and brief discussion of the background of this work. Cf. Erguner 2003, 171–9.

<sup>104</sup> Yekta writes of the ‘two systems of Turkish notation’ of Nâyi Osman Dede and Cantemir, and also discusses Abdülbaki Dede’s treatise, but omits any mention of Hampartsum notation (Yekta 1922, 2981). Likewise, in *Türk noçası* Yekta apparently considers only notation methods based on the Arabic script to be ‘Turkish’ (Paçacı 2015b, 16–19). In an earlier article, Yekta remarked: ‘the strange thing is, that while none of the notations invented until now could win acceptance by our musicians, a notation invented in the time of Mahmud II by someone called Hampartsum was able to become more or less widespread’ (Ra’ûf Yektâ 1325/1909, 211; translit. in Öncel 2010, 85 and Popescu-Judetzu 1998, 65). The same puzzlement was expressed more than half a century later by Halil Can (1968, 4).

towards the modern world.<sup>105</sup> By the 1930s, Hampartsum notation not only appeared parochial and outdated, but as a product of the multi-confessional, multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire was inimical to the nationalistic outlook of the Turkish Republic.

Yet it would be misleading to assert that the establishment of a Turkish nation-state involved a total erasure of earlier cultural practices, despite radical demographic and political shifts, not least the destruction of the Armenian population. The power of Republican ideology was far from absolute, and practices that were contrary to the spirit of revolutionary progress endured in everyday life, helped in no small part by the fact that the personnel of the new government and bureaucracy were themselves products of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, after the official introduction of the Latin alphabet in 1928, Turkish citizens continued to write in private using Arabic script.<sup>106</sup> Likewise, Armeno-Turkish still had currency within the Armenian diaspora as late as 1968, the year when (apparently) the last book in this language was published in Buenos Aires.<sup>107</sup>

In the same way, it is tempting to see the general adoption of staff notation in the Republican period as the symbol of a definitive break with the past and a demonstration of the potency of nationalist, westernising or modernising discourses. But although the larger narrative of institutionalisation supports this claim to some extent, musical and social practices associated with oral transmission persisted in private spaces in the early Republican era and beyond, while the use of staff notation never quite led to acceptance of the immutability of the musical text.<sup>108</sup> Similarly, although it never enjoyed the widespread acceptance and institutional support of staff notation, Hampartsum notation was used by individual musicians as a teaching tool or a means of preserving valuable repertoire well into the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> On the Turkish language reform, see Lewis 1999.

<sup>106</sup> Strauss 2005, 242. See also Mignon's discussion of attitudes towards script reform amongst Turkish intellectuals, which highlights the discrepancy between public statements and private practices (Mignon 2010). Various private archives demonstrate that Turkish musicians and musicologists of the twentieth century continued to use the Arabic script for private purposes: see, for example, the archives of Kemal Batanay (housed at İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, Istanbul), and Sadeddin Arel (at İstanbul Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Kütüphanesi). For more general discussions of continuities between the Ottoman and Republican periods, see Zürcher 2010 and Meeker 2002.

<sup>107</sup> See the catalogue of Armeno-Turkish publications compiled by Hasmik Stepanyan (2005, 385).

<sup>108</sup> Poulos 2011; Gill-Gürtan 2011b; Behar 2006a, 95–7 and *passim*.

<sup>109</sup> Kemal Batanay (1893–1981), a student of Rauf Yekta, continued to use Hampartsum notation until the late 1970s, according to dates found on documents in his archive at İSAM. Similarly, Halil Can (1905–73) was still using Hampartsum notation in the 1960s (Popescu-Judet 1996, 43). Halil Can learned the system from Neyzen Emin Efendi (1883–1945), who used it as a teaching tool until shortly before his death in 1945 (Can 1968, 4; Erguner 2016, 126).

In some senses, the notation method continued to fulfil the same functions as it had done in the nineteenth century, as a personalised textual practice cultivated within a limited circle of Armenian cantors and a few Mevlevi experts. Yet it also acquired new associations during the Republican era which persist to the present. For many Turkish musicians and musicologists, Hampartsum notation is a symbol of the religious tolerance of the Ottoman Empire and of the technologically advanced nature of Ottoman/Turkish music. When invoked as a more suitable means of writing music than staff notation, it may also serve a traditionalist discourse that is opposed to the modernist, pro-western attitudes associated with twentieth-century Turkish musicology. Similarly, for Armenian scholars and musicians, Hampartsum notation is variously a source of national pride, an obsolete and little-understood remnant of foreign subjugation, and a symbol of a more authentic musical identity untouched by westernisation. Yet from both perspectives, Hampartsum notation serves as a reminder of the late imperial moment in which ethno-nationalism had not yet cleaved a seemingly unbridgeable divide between Armenian and Turkish music histories.

## Conclusion

The history of Hampartsum notation illustrates the ways in which localised developments in musical practice can be related to broader changes within Ottoman society and beyond during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I have attempted to demonstrate in the preceding chapters that the subject needs to be approached from an interdisciplinary, connected perspective that acknowledges the entanglement of music histories and scholarly disciplines often regarded as separate. Conversely, I have argued that the history of Hampartsum notation can shed light on a range of issues pertaining not only to Armenian or Ottoman music studies, but also to the cultural history of Istanbul, the Mxit'arist revival, and the impact of the Enlightenment on musical discourses and practices outside of western Europe.

In the first part of the thesis, I showed how the invention of Hampartsum notation was an aspect of a broader cultural and intellectual revival led by the Mxit'arist scholars of San Lazzaro. As I argued in Chapter Two, the notational reform was ideologically connected with a discourse of national regeneration, and resonated with parallel debates about educational and linguistic reform. Furthermore, the creators of the new notation system had direct connections with San Lazzaro, and played key roles – as patrons, intellectuals and cultural producers – in other areas of the Mxit'arist revival. Within a larger historical framework, the invention of Hampartsum notation can be understood as a translation of Enlightenment thought into local musical contexts beyond the Danube, in which regard it resembles the contemporaneous reform of Byzantine notation ascribed to Chrysanthos of Madytos. However, rather than being interpreted in terms of unilateral 'western influence', both reforms should be situated within a longer and more complex history of interactions between Europe, the Ottoman Empire, and the Eastern Churches.

By uncovering the networks and personal connections that linked the Catholic Armenian community of Istanbul with the monks of San Lazzaro, I have argued that the Mxit'arist revival was not simply a 'national renaissance', but was deeply intertwined with broader social and cultural developments in the Ottoman capital. In this way, the thesis contributes to recent debates about connected history within both Armenian and Ottoman studies. Furthermore, it offers a musical perspective on these debates by engaging with the burgeoning literature on Armenian cultural life in nineteenth-century Istanbul. Hampartsum notation can thus be situated alongside a range of artistic, theatrical and literary forms that emerged within this milieu, and

which similarly resulted from interactions between different confessional groups within the urban centres of the empire, as well as from transimperial flows of people, ideas and cultural practices.

Regarding the relationship between Hampartsum notation and previous writing systems, I have suggested a new approach to the history of notation in Ottoman music. Whereas existing scholarship has assumed a linear continuity between these earlier methods and Hampartsum notation, I argue that different notation systems need to be understood within their specific historical contexts. By taking account of the wider intellectual and cultural environments in which notation systems were developed and used, I suggest that there were in fact several traditions of music writing within the Ottoman Empire, which were distinguished in part by their association with different confessional or socio-linguistic groups. Furthermore, patterns of musical transmission more generally were determined by confessional or socio-linguistic identity, and therefore shifted in parallel with larger transformations in Ottoman urban life.

Although it is often assumed that Hampartsum notation was used at the Ottoman court from the early nineteenth century onwards, documentary evidence suggests that it was not adopted by Muslim musicians until several decades after its invention. An important reason for this was the social segmentation that existed between Muslim and non-Muslim musicians, which translated into a partial separation of the genres and performance contexts associated with each group. Thus, for social and linguistic reasons, non-Muslim musicians were a marginal presence at the Ottoman court before the mid-nineteenth century, and were known primarily as instrumentalists rather than vocalists in the realm of secular Ottoman music. However, Muslims and non-Muslims interacted in other areas of music-making and social settings outside of the court, most importantly at the lodges of the Mevlevi Sufi order, which played a key role in the musical life of the Ottoman capital. It was through the Mevlevi order, I have suggested, that knowledge of Hampartsum notation was initially transmitted from Armenian to Muslim musicians.

With the social and political changes of the Tanzimat period, Armenian and Greek Orthodox musicians became more visible as composers and performers of secular Ottoman music. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, knowledge of Hampartsum notation became significantly more widespread as it was officially adopted by the Armenian Church (after the reform was initially opposed), and Armenian cantors used it to notate both liturgical music and secular, Turkish-language repertoire. Muslim musicians, too, used Hampartsum notation to encode a wide range of genres, from Mevlevi ceremonial music to courtly genres

and more vernacular song forms including the *şarki*. The notation system thus existed within a rich landscape of musical practices, and was employed for diverse purposes by Ottoman musicians. While some of these uses suggest a shift towards a more literate conception of the musical work, others indicate continuities with earlier practices and an ongoing interaction with oral modes of transmission.

Within the wider context of educational and social reform, increasing literacy rates and the emergence of a multilingual print culture, Ottoman musicians and intellectuals debated the merits of musical notation. Both Armenian and Muslim commentators advocated the use of notation as a means of safeguarding valued repertoire and modernising the process of musical transmission. But although Hampartsum notation was used more widely than previous notation systems, oral transmission continued to be the norm for the majority of Ottoman musicians into the late nineteenth century. Furthermore, some musicians regarded the use of notation not only as unnecessary, but as practically and morally detrimental to the teaching process. Such attitudes were compounded by professional jealousy and the persistence of social and linguistic boundaries between Armenian and Muslim musicians.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Hampartsum notation was used alongside European staff notation. However, by the time of the founding of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the latter writing system had become far more widespread, while Hampartsum notation fell largely into disuse during the following decades. The causes of this divergence were not inherent to the notation systems themselves, but had to do with the ways they were instrumentalised and their role within larger sociological processes. The use of staff notation increased due to three main factors: the institutionalisation of musical education and its support by the state, the impact of print technology on Ottoman musical life, and the different cultural associations of the two notation systems. With the establishment of the Turkish nation-state, Hampartsum notation became a symbol of the multi-ethnic, multi-confessional Ottoman past, now rejected in favour of an ethnically homogeneous, western-oriented future.

I hope that this thesis has achieved at least some of the aims stated in the introduction, by providing a musical perspective on the cultural history of Istanbul during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and, conversely, by incorporating cultural–historical approaches into Armenian and Ottoman music studies. I hope that it also demonstrates the importance of non-Turkish-language sources for writing the history of Ottoman music, and thereby contributes to a broadening of the field of Ottoman music studies to include a more diverse range of historical narratives, social groups and musical practices. Lastly, I hope that the thesis has suggested ways

to approach the history of music from a global or connected perspective which is at the same time rooted in local debates and practices. In this manner, I have attempted to show that the global history of music can be written from a less Eurocentric viewpoint, which integrates the specialised skills of ‘ethnomusicology’ with methodological approaches from ‘historical musicology’.

While the thesis has hopefully made a contribution to some of these areas, it has also touched upon subjects that could only be dealt with briefly in the preceding chapters, and which deserve more detailed and focused future research. Armenian and Armeno-Turkish sources, including Bžškean’s treatise but also other theoretical works, lyric anthologies, and a large number of printed and manuscript collections of notation, can still provide crucial insights into the history of Ottoman music. Further investigation of these sources can deepen our understanding of cultural–historical issues, as I have attempted to do in the present thesis, but they also promise new information about music theory and performance practice during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The study of the extensive but almost completely unexplored corpus of Armeno-Turkish lyrics can contribute to Ottomanist musicology but also, in conjunction with related work by scholars in these fields, to the history of Ottoman language and literature.

These sources should not, of course, be studied in isolation, but can be compared with contemporary sources in Ottoman Turkish and Greek. In particular, the corpus of secular Ottoman music in Byzantine notation (both Middle Byzantine and Chrysanthine) should be analysed alongside the manuscripts in Hampartsum notation discussed in Chapter Six. This will tell us more about musical interactions between different confessional communities in Istanbul, about the interpretation of Middle Byzantine notation, and about the stylistic and formal transformation of Ottoman music in the eighteenth century. In the following century, printed collections of Turkish-language songs in Greek script can compensate for the lack of vocal music in early collections of Hampartsum notation, and can shift attention away from the instrumental repertoire that has dominated analytical debates in Ottomanist musicology. One possible direction of research, then, is towards an interdisciplinary history of Ottoman song that integrates musicological, literary and sociological perspectives.

The study of Armenian- and Greek-language sources is essential for understanding a number of other musical developments in nineteenth-century Istanbul that could not be explored fully in the present thesis. While I discussed briefly in Chapter Seven the impact of print technology on late Ottoman musical life, a history of music and print in the Ottoman Empire

remains to be written. As with research on Ottoman print culture more generally, investigation of this topic needs to take account of sources in a wide range of languages and scripts, and to include the perspectives of diverse confessional and social groups. The history of Ottoman music printing is intertwined with other key developments in the nineteenth century, including the growing popularity of musical forms such as operetta and *kanto* and the commercialisation of musical life. While I have focused in the present thesis on courtly and elite traditions of Ottoman music, it is necessary to investigate in more detail the relationship of this repertoire to popular urban musics and to the new musical practices of the nineteenth century.

Future research on the history of music in the late Ottoman Empire might then ask the following questions: How can we reconcile official support of European cultural institutions (such as military bands and opera houses) with the ongoing patronage and continued vitality of more established musical traditions? How did marketisation affect the relationship between patrons and performers, and between ‘elite’ and ‘popular’ musical practices? To what degree did technologisation, through print and later the phonograph, contribute to the formation of imagined musical communities, and how far did these extend beyond imperial or national borders? What role did music play in the transition from confessional to national identities? Finally, in seeking to answer these questions, we might move beyond the Ottoman sphere to think about how they relate to the history of music in other geographical and cultural contexts. In this way, musicological research can contribute a still unexplored dimension to the global history of the nineteenth century.





# Bibliography

## Primary Sources

### *Manuscript Collections of Hampartsum Notation*

Listed according to holding library. Short library sigla and ms. signatures used in the main text are highlighted in **bold**.

**AK:** İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Atatürk Kitaplığı

**AK56** LKE\_F000056.

**AK86** Bel\_Yz.\_O.000086. Transcription in Karamahmutoğlu 1999.

**AM:** İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Kütüphanesi

**AM1537** 1537. Transcription in Taşdelen 2014.

**AR:** Ali Rifat Çağatay Archive

Private collection. Catalogued by Nilgün Doğrusöz-Dişiaçık.

**AR1** HDEF 1.

**AR2** HDEF 2.

**AR3** HDEF 3.

**AR4** HDEF 4.

**AR5** HDEF 5.

**AR6** HDEF 6.

**AR7** HDEF 7.

**AR8** HDEF 8.

**AR9** HDEF 9.

**AR10** HDEF 10.

**AR11** HDEF 11.

**AR12** HDEF 12.

**AR13** HDEF 13.

**CK:** İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, İstanbul (Cüneyt Kosal Arşivi)

**CK1** HMP\_1.

**CK2** HMP\_2.

**CK3** HMP\_3.

**CK4** Uncatalogued ms.

**CK5** Uncatalogued ms.

**M:** Millî Kütüphane, Ankara

**M355** Müteferrik 355. Microfilm: MFA-A-944. Former shelfmark: Ankara

Üniversitesi Dil, Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi, Mahmud Celâleddin Ef. Kısmı,  
Y. 38726. Transcription in Aydın 2003.

**M4994** A4994.

**M4995** A4995.

**M4996** A4996.

**M18317** Gedik Paşa 18317.

**MU:** Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster

**MU3** Ms. or. 3.

**MU4** Ms. or. 4. Facsimile in Jäger 2000.

**NÇ:** Nişan Çalgıcıyan

Private collection, two mss. given to the author.

**NÇ1**

**NÇ2**

**NE:** İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserleri Kütüphanesi

See Jäger 1996b for detailed descriptions of mss.

**NE203** 203-1.

**NE204** 204-2.

**NE205** 205-3.

**NE206** 206-4.

**NE207** 207-5. Transcription in Yener 2015a.

**NE208** 208-6.

- NE209** 209-7.  
**NE210** 210-8.  
**NE211** 211-9.  
**NE212** 212-10. Currently missing. See Jäger 1996b, xlix–lii for a description.  
**NE213** 213-11.  
**NE214** 214-12.  
**NE215** 215-13.  
**NE216** 216-14.  
**NE217** 217-15.  
**NE218** 218-16. Contains two mss. (referred to in the main text as **NE218a** and **NE218b**).

**S:** Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Istanbul

- S122** Galata Mevlevihanesi 122.  
**S6733** Yazma bağışlar 6733.  
**S6738** Yazma bağışlar 6738.

**ST:** Surp Takavor Ermeni Kilisesi, Istanbul

- ST1** Uncatalogued ms.  
**ST2** Uncatalogued ms.  
**ST3** Uncatalogued ms.  
**ST4** Uncatalogued ms.  
**ST5** Uncatalogued ms.  
**ST6** Uncatalogued ms.  
**ST7** Uncatalogued ms.  
**ST8** Uncatalogued ms.  
**ST9** Uncatalogued ms.  
**ST10** Uncatalogued ms.  
**ST11** Uncatalogued ms.  
**ST12** Uncatalogued ms.  
**ST13** Uncatalogued ms.  
**ST14** Uncatalogued ms.  
**ST15** Uncatalogued ms.

**TA:** İstanbul Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Kütüphanesi

**TA107** 107.

**TA108** 108.

**TA109** 109.

**TA110** 110.

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